A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

BY

DOCTOR SAMUEL JOHNSON.

VOL. II.

MINERVA ROOMS, CORK.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR A. LEATHLEY, J. EXSHAW, H. SAUNDERS, D. CHAMBERLAIN, W. SLEATOR, J. POTTS, T. EWING, W. WILSON, R. MONCRIEFFE, AND C. JENKIN.

M,DCC,LXXV.

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JOURNEY, &c.

IT is generally ſuppoſed, that life is longer in places where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found no inſtance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager grows old over his oaten cake like a citizen at a turtle feaſt. He is indeed ſeldom incommoded by corpulence. Poverty preſerves him from ſinking under the burden of himſelf, but he eſcapes no other injury of time. Inſtances of long life are often related, which thoſe who hear them are more willing to credit than examine. To be told that any man has attained a hundred years, gives hope and comfort to him who ſtands trembling on the brink of his own climacterick.

Length of life is diſtributed impartially to very different modes of life in very different climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of age and health than the low lands, where I was introduced to

two ladies of high quality; one of whom, in her ninety-fourth year, preſided at her table with the full exerciſe of all her powers; and the other has attained her eighty-fourth, without any diminution of her vivacity, and with little reaſon to accuſe time of depredations on her beauty.

In the Iſlands, as in moſt other places, the inhabitants are of different rank, and, one does not encroach here upon another. Where there is no commerce nor manufacture, he that is born poor can ſcarcely become rich; and if none are able to buy eſtates, he that is born to land cannot annihilate his family by ſelling it. This was once the ſtate of theſe countries. Perhaps there is no example, till within a century and half, of any family whoſe eſtate was alienated otherwiſe than by violence or forfeiture. Since money has been brought amongſt them, they have found, like others, the art of ſpending more than they receive; and I ſaw with grief the chief of a very ancient

cient clan, whoſe Iſland was condemned by law to be ſold for the ſatisfaction of his creditors.

The name of higheſt dignity is Laird, of which there are in the extenſive Iſle of Sky only three, *Macdonald*, *Macleod*, and *Mackinnon*. The Laird is the original owner of the land, whoſe natural power muſt be very great, where no man lives but by agriculture; and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffick, but paſſes directly from the hand that gathers it to the mouth that eats it. The Laird has all thoſe in his power that live upon his farms. Kings can, for the moſt part, only exalt or degrade. The Laird at pleaſure can feed or ſtarve, can give bread, or withold it. This inherent power was yet ſtrengthened by the kindneſs of conſanguinity, and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The Laird was the father of the Clan, and his tenants commonly bore his

name. And to theſe principles of original command was added, for many ages, an excluſive right of legal juriſdiction.

This multifarious and extenſive obligation operated with force ſcarcely credible. Every duty, moral or political, was abſorbed in affection and adherence to the Chief. Not many years have paſſed ſince the clans knew no law but the Laird's will. He told them to whom they ſhould be friends or enemies, what King they ſhould obey, and what religion they ſhould profeſs.

When the Scots firſt roſe in arms againſt the ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Hanover*, *Lovat*, the Chief of the *Fraſers*, was in exile for a rape. The *Fraſers* were very numerous, and very zealous againſt the government. A pardon was ſent to *Lovat*. He came to the *Engliſh* camp, and the clan immediately deſerted to him.

Next

Next in dignity to the Laird is the Tackſman; a large taker or leaſe-holder of land, of which he keeps part, as a domain, in his own hand, and lets part to under tenants. The Tackſman is neceſſarily a man capable of ſecuring to the Laird the whole rent, and is commonly a collateral relation. Theſe *tacks*, or ſubordinate poſſeſſions, were long conſidered as hereditary, and the occupant was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the place at which he reſided. He held a middle ſtation, by which the higheſt and the loweſt orders were connected. He paid rent and reverence to the Laird, and received them from the tenants. This tenure ſtill ſubſiſts, with its original operation, but not with the primitive ſtability. Since the iſlanders, no longer content to live, have learned the deſire of growing rich, an ancient dependent is in danger of giving way to a higher bidder, at the expence of domeſtick dignity and hereditary power. The ſtranger, whoſe

money buys him preference, conſiders himſelf as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the Laird's honour or ſafety. The commodiouſneſs of money is indeed great; but there are ſome advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wiſe man will by the love of money be tempted to forego.

I have found, in the hither parts of *Scotland*, men not defective in judgment or general experience, who conſider the Tackſman as a uſeleſs burden of the ground, as a drone who lives upon the product of an eſtate, without the right of property, or the merit of labour, and who impoveriſhes at once the landlord and the tenant. The land, they ſay, is let to the Tackſman at ſix-pence an acre, and by him to the tenant at ten-pence. Let the owner be the immediate landlord to all the tenants; if he ſets the grouud at eight-pence, he will increaſe his revenue by a fourth part, and the tenant's burden will be diminiſhed by a fifth.

Thoſe

Thoſe who purſue this train of reaſoning ſeem not ſufficiently to inquire whither it will lead them, nor to know that it will equally ſhow the propriety of ſuppreſſing all wholeſale trade, of ſhutting up the ſhops of every man who ſells what he does not make, and of excluding all whoſe agency and profit intervene between the manufacturer and the conſumer. They may, by ſtretching their underſtandings a little wider, comprehend, that all thoſe who by undertaking large quantities of manufacture, and affording employment to many labourers, make themſelves conſidered as benefactors to the publick, have only been robbing their workmen with one hand, and their cuſtomers with the other. If Crowley had ſold only what he could make, and all his ſmiths had wrought their own iron with their own hammers, he would have lived on leſs, and they would have ſold their work for more. The ſalaries of ſuperintendants and clerks would

have been partly ſaved, and partly ſhared, and nails been ſometimes cheaper by a farthing in a hundred. But then if the ſmith could not have found an immediate purchaſe, he muſt have deſerted his anvil; if there had by accident at any time been more ſellers than buyers, the workmen muſt have reduced their profit to nothing, by underſelling one another; and as no great ſtock could have been in any hand, no ſudden demand of large quantities could have been anſwered, and the builder muſt have ſtood ſtill till the nailer could ſupply him.

According to theſe ſchemes, univerſal plenty is to begin and end in univerſal miſery. Hope and emulation will be utterly extinguiſhed; and as all muſt obey the call of immediate neceſſity, nothing that requires extenſive views, or provides for diſtant conſequences, will ever be performed.

To

To the ſouthern inhabitants of Scotland the ſtate of the mountains and the iſlands is equally unknown with that of *Borneo* or *Sumatra*: Of both they have only heard a little, and gueſs the reſt. They are ſtrangers to the language and the manners, to the advantages and wants of the people, whoſe life they would model, and whoſe evils they would remedy.

Nothing is leſs difficult than to procure one convenience by the forfeiture of another. A ſoldier may expedite his march by throwing away his arms. To baniſh the Tackſman is eaſy, to make a country plentiful by diminiſhing the people is an expeditious mode of huſbandry; but that abundance which there is nobody to enjoy contributes little to human happineſs.

As the mind muſt govern the hands, ſo in every ſociety the man of intelligence muſt direct the man of labour. If the

Tackſmen be taken away, the Hebrides muſt in their preſent ſtate be given up to groſſneſs and ignorance; the tenant, for want of inſtruction, will be unſkilful, and for want of admonition will be negligent. The Laird in theſe wide eſtates, which often conſiſt of iſlands remote from one another, cannot extend his perſonal influence to all his tenants; and the ſteward, having no dignity annexed to his character, can have little authority among men taught to pay reverence only to birth, and who regard the Tackſman as their hereditary ſuperior; nor can the ſteward have equal zeal for the proſperity of an eſtate, profitable only to the Laird, with the Tackſman, who has the Laird's income involved in his own.

The only gentlemen in the Iſlands are the Lairds, the Tackſmen, and the Miniſters, who frequently improve their livings by becoming farmers. If the Tackſmen be baniſhed,

baniſhed, who will be left to impart knowledge, or impreſs civility? The Laird muſt always be at a diſtance from the greater part of his lands; and if he reſides at all upon them muſt drag his days in ſolitude, having no longer either a friend or a companion; he will therefore depart to ſome more comfortable reſidence, and leave the tenants to the wiſdom and mercy of a factor.

Of tenants there are different orders, as they have greater or leſs ſtock. Land is ſometimes leaſed to a ſmall fellowſhip, who live in a cluſter of huts, called a Tenant's Town, and are bound jointly and ſeparately for the payment of their rent. Theſe, I believe, employ in the care of their cattle, and the labour of tillage, a kind of tenants yet lower; who having a hut, with graſs for a certain number of cows and ſheep, pay their rent by a ſtipulated quantity of labour.

The

The condition of domeſtick ſervants, or the price of occaſional labour, I do not know with certainty. I was told that the maids have ſheep, and are allowed to ſpin for their own clothing; perhaps they have no pecuniary wages, or none but in very wealthy families. The ſtate of life, which has hitherto been purely paſtoral, begins now to be a little variegated with commerce; but novelties enter by degrees, and till one mode has fully prevailed over the other, no ſettled notion can be formed.

Such is the ſyſtem of inſular ſubordination, which, having little variety, cannot afford much delight in the view, nor long detain the mind in contemplation. The inhabitants were for a long time perhaps not happy; but their content was a muddy mixture of pride and ignorance, an indifference for pleaſures which they did not know, a blind veneration for their chiefs,

chiefs, and a ſtrong conviction of their own importance.

Their pride has been cruſhed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whoſe ſeverities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much diſcontent, becauſe they operate upon the ſurface of life, and make every eye bear witneſs to ſubjection. To be compelled to a new dreſs has always been found painful.

Their Chiefs, being now deprived of their juriſdiction, have already loſt much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will diveſt themſelves of the little that remains.

That dignity which they derived from an opinion of their military importance, the law, which diſarmed them, has abated.

An

An old gentleman, delighting himſelf with the recollection of better days, related, that forty years ago a Chieftain walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling. That animating rabble has now ceaſed. The Chief has loſt his formidable retinue; and the Highlander walks his heath unarmed and defenceleſs, with the peaceable ſubmiſſion of a French peaſant or Engliſh cottager.

Their ignorance grows every day leſs, but their knowledge is yet of little other uſe than to ſhow them their wants. They are now in the period of education, and feel the uneaſineſs of diſcipline, without yet perceiving the benefit of inſtruction.

The laſt law, by which the Highlanders are deprived of their arms, has operated with efficacy beyond expectation. Of former ſtatutes made with the ſame deſign the execution had been feeble, and the effect incon-

inconſiderable. Concealment was undoubtedly practiſed, and perhaps often with connivance. There was tenderneſs, or partiality, on one ſide, and obſtinacy on the other. But the law, which followed the victory of Culloden, found the whole nation dejected and intimidated; informations were given without danger, and without fear, and the arms were collected with ſuch vigour, that every houſe was deſpoiled of its defence.

To diſarm part of the Highlands could give no reaſonable occaſion of complaint. Every government muſt be allowed the power of taking away the weapon that is lifted againſt it. But the loyal clans murmured, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that after having defended the King they were forbidden for the future to defend themſelves; and that the ſword ſhould be forfeited, which had been legally employed. Their caſe is undoubtedly hard,

but

but in political regulations good cannot be complete, it can only be predominant.

Whether by diſarming a people thus broken into ſeveral tribes, and thus remote from the ſeat of power, more good than evil has been produced, may deſerve inquiry. The ſupreme power in every community has the right of debarring every individual, and every ſubordinate ſociety, from ſelf-defence, only becauſe the ſupreme power is able to defend them; and therefore where the governor cannot act, he muſt truſt the ſubject to act for himſelf. Theſe Iſlands might be waſted with fire and ſword before their ſovereign would know their diſtreſs. A gang of robbers, ſuch as has been lately found confederating themſelves in the Highlands, might lay a wide region under contribution. The crew of a petty privateer might land on the largeſt and moſt wealthy of the Iſlands, and riot without control in cruelty and waſte. It

was

was obſerved by one of the Chiefs of Sky, that fifty armed men might, without reſiſtance, ravage the country. Laws that place the ſubjects in ſuch a ſtate contravene the firſt principles of the compact of authority: they exact obedience, and yield no protection.

It affords a generous and manly pleaſure to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds with fearleſs confidence, though it lies open on every ſide to invaſion, where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man ſleeps ſecurely with his ſword beſide him; where, all on the firſt approach of hoſtility came together at the call to battle, as at a ſummons to a feſtal ſhow; and, committing their cattle to the care of thoſe whom age or nature has diſabled, engage the enemy with that competition for hazard and for glory, which operates in men that fight under the eye of thoſe, whoſe diſlike or kindneſs they have

have always conſidered as the greateſt evil or the greateſt good.

This was, in the beginning of the preſent century, the ſtate of the Highlands. Every man was a ſoldier, who partook of national confidence, and intereſted himſelf in national honour. To loſe this ſpirit is to loſe what no ſmall advantage will compenſate.

It may likewiſe deſerve to be inquired, whether a great nation ought to be totally commercial? whether, amidſt the uncertainty of human affairs, too much attention to one mode of happineſs may not endanger others? whether the pride of riches muſt not ſometimes have recourſe to the protection of courage? and whether, if it be neceſſary to preſerve in ſome part of the empire the military ſpirit, it can ſubſiſt more commodiouſly in any place, than in remote and unprofitable provinces, where

where it can commonly do little harm, and whence it may be called forth at any ſudden exigence?

It muſt however be confeſſed, that a man, who places honour only in ſucceſsful violence, is a very troubleſome and pernicious animal in time of peace; and that the martial character cannot prevail in a whole people, but by the diminution of all other virtues. He that is accuſtomed to reſolve all right into conqueſt will have very little tenderneſs or equity. All the friendſhip in ſuch a life can only be a confederacy of invaſion, or alliance of defence. The ſtrong muſt flouriſh by force, and the weak ſubſiſt by ſtratagem.

Till the Highlanders loſt their ferocity, with their arms, they ſuffered from each other all that malignity could dictate, or precipitance could act. Every provocation was revenged with blood, and no man that

ventured

ventured into a numerous company, by whatever occaſion brought together, was ſure of returning without a wound. If they are now expoſed to foreign hoſtilities, they may talk of the danger, but can ſeldom feel it. If they are no longer martial, they are no longer quarrelſome. Miſery is cauſed, for the moſt part, not by a heavy cruſh of diſaſter, but by the corroſion of leſs viſible evils, which canker enjoyment, and undermine ſecurity. The viſit of an invader is neceſſarily rare, but domeſtick animoſities allow no ceſſation.

The abolition of the local juriſdictions, which had for ſo many ages been exerciſed by the chiefs, has likewiſe its evil and its good. The feudal conſtitution naturally diffuſed itſelf into long ramifications of ſubordinate authority. To this general temper of the government was added the peculiar form of the country, broken by mountains into many ſubdiviſions ſcarcely acceſſible

acceſſible but to the natives, and guarded by paſſes, or perplexed with intricacies, through which national juſtice could not find its way.

The power of deciding controverſies, and of puniſhing offences, as ſome ſuch power there muſt always be, was intruſted to the Lairds of the country, to thoſe whom the people conſidered as their natural judges. It cannot be ſuppoſed that a rugged proprietor of the rocks, unprincipled and unenlightened, was a nice reſolver of entangled claims, or very exact in proportioning puniſhment to offences. But the more he indulged his own will, the more he held his vaſſals in dependance. Prudence and innocence, without the favour of the Chief, conferred no ſecurity; and crimes involved no danger, when the judge was reſolute to acquit.

When

When the chiefs were men of knowledge and virtue, the convenience of a domeſtick judicature was great. No long journies were neceſſary, no artificial delays could be practiſed; the character, the alliances, and intereſts of the litigants were known to the court, and all falſe pretences were eaſily detected. The ſentence, when it was paſt, could not be evaded; the power of the Laird ſuperſeded formalities, and juſtice could not be defeated by intereſt or ſtratagem.

I doubt not but that ſince the regular judges have made their circuits through the whole country, right has been every where more wiſely and more equally diſtributed; the complaint is, that litigation is grown troubleſome, and that the magiſtrates are too few, and therefore often too remote for general convenience.

Many

Many of the ſmaller Iſlands have no legal officer within them. I once aſked, If a crime ſhould be committed, by what authority the offender could be ſeized? and was told, that the Laird would exert his right; a right which he muſt now uſurp, but which ſurely neceſſity muſt vindicate, and which is therefore yet exerciſed in lower degrees, by ſome of the proprietors, when legal proceſſes cannot be obtained.

In all greater queſtions, however, there is now happily an end to all fear or hope from malice or from favour. The roads are ſecure in thoſe places through which, forty years ago, no traveller could paſs without a convoy. All trials of right by the ſword are forgotten, and the mean are in as little danger from the powerful as in other places. No ſcheme of policy has, in any country, yet brought the rich and poor on equal terms into courts of judicature.

ture. Perhaps experience, improving on experience, may in time effect it.

Thoſe who have long enjoyed dignity and power ought not to loſe it without ſome equivalent. There was paid to the Chiefs by the publick, in exchange for their privileges, perhaps a ſum greater than moſt of them had ever poſſeſſed, which excited a thirſt for riches, of which it ſhowed them the uſe. When the power of birth and ſtation ceaſes, no hope remains but from the prevalence of money. Power and wealth ſupply the place of each other. Powers confers the ability of gratifying our deſire without the conſent of others. Wealth enables us to obtain the conſent of others to our gratification. Power, ſimply conſidered, whatever it confers on one, muſt take from another. Wealth enables its owner to give to others, by taking only from himſelf. Power pleaſes the violent and proud: wealth delights the placid

placid and the timorous. Youth therefore flies at power, and age grovels after riches.

The Chiefs, diveſted of their prerogatives, neceſſarily turned their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have leſs homage. The tenant, who is far from perceiving that his condition is made better in the ſame proportion as that of his landlord is made worſe, does not immediately ſee why his induſtry is to be taxed more heavily than before. He refuſes to pay the demand, and is ejected; the ground is then let to a ſtranger, who perhaps brings a larger ſtock, but who, taking the land at its full price, treats with the Laird upon equal terms, and conſiders him not as a Chief, but as a trafficker in land. Thus the eſtate perhaps is improved, but the clan is broken.

It ſeems to be the general opinion, that the rents have been raiſed with too much eagerneſs. Some regard muſt be paid to prejudice. Thoſe who have hitherto paid but little will not ſuddenly be perſuaded to pay much, though they can afford it. As ground is gradually improved, and the value of money decreaſes, the rent may be raiſed without any diminution of the farmer's profits: yet it is neceſſary in theſe countries, where the ejection of a tenant is a greater evil than in more populous places, to conſider not merely what the land will produce, but with what ability the inhabitant can cultivate it. A certain ſtock can allow but a certain payment; for if the land be doubled, and the ſtock remains the ſame, the tenant becomes no richer. The proprietors of the Highlands might perhaps often increaſe their income, by ſubdividing the farms, and allotting to every occupier only ſo many acres as he can profitably employ, but that they want people.

There

There ſeems now, whatever be the cauſe, to be through a great part of the Highlands a general diſcontent. That adherence, which was lately profeſſed by every man to the chief of his name, has now little prevalence; and he that cannot live as he deſires at home liſtens to the tale of fortunate iſlands, and happy regions, where every man may have land of his own, and eat the product of his labour without a ſuperior.

Thoſe who have obtained grants of American lands have, as is well known, invited ſettlers from all quarters of the globe; and among other places, where oppreſſion might produce a wiſh for new habitations, their emiſſaries would not fail to try their perſuaſions in the Iſles of Scotland, where at the time when the clans were newly diſunited from their Chiefs, and exaſperated by unprecedented exactions, it is no wonder that they prevailed.

Whether the miſchiefs of emigration were immediately perceived, may be juſtly queſtioned. They who went firſt were probably ſuch as could beſt be ſpared; but the accounts ſent by the earlieſt adventurers, whether true or falſe, inclined many to follow them; and whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; ſo that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied carries with him all that makes life pleaſant. He ſits down in a better climate, ſurrounded by his kindred and his friends: they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular ſongs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode; and of that change they perceive the benefit.

This is the real effect of emigration, if thoſe that go away together ſettle on the ſame ſpot, and preſerve their ancient union. But ſome relate that theſe adventurous viſi-

tants

tants of unknown regions, after a voyage paſſed in dreams of plenty and felicity, are diſperſed at laſt upon a Sylvan wilderneſs, where their firſt years muſt be ſpent in toil to clear the ground, which is afterwards to be tilled, and that the whole effect of their undertaking is only more fatigue and equal ſcarcity.

Both accounts may be ſuſpected. Thoſe who are gone will endeavour by every art to draw others after them; for as their numbers are greater, they will provide better for themſelves. When *Nova Scotia* was firſt peopled, I remember a letter, publiſhed under the character of a New Planter, who related how much the climate put him in mind of *Italy*. Such intelligence the *Hebridians* probably receive from their tranſmarine correſpondents. But with equal temptations of intereſt, and perhaps with no greater niceneſs of veracity, the owners of the Iſlands ſpread ſtories of American

hardſhips to keep their people content at home.

Some method to ſtop this epidemick deſire of wandering, which ſpreads its contagion from valley to valley, deſerves to be ſought with great diligence. In more fruitful countries, the removal of one only makes room for the ſucceſſion of another: but in the *Hebrides*, the loſs of an inhabitant leaves a laſting vacuity; for nobody born in any other parts of the world will chooſe this country for his reſidence; and an Iſland once depopulated will remain a deſert, as long as the preſent facility of travel gives every one, who is diſcontented and unſettled, the choice of his abode.

Let it be inquired, whether the firſt intention of thoſe who are fluttering on the wing, and collecting a flock that they may take their flight, be to attain good, or to avoid evil. If they are diſſatisfied

fied with that part of the globe, which their birth has allotted them, and reſolve not to live without the pleaſures of happier climates; if they long for bright ſuns, and calm ſkies, and flowery fields, and fragrant gardens, I know not by what eloquence they can be perſuaded, or by what offers they can be hired to ſtay.

But if they are driven from their native country by poſitive evils, and diſguſted by ill-treatment, real or imaginary, it were fit to remove their grievances, and quiet their reſentment; ſince, if they have been hitherto undutiful ſubjects, they will not much mend their principles by American converſation.

To allure them into the army, it was thought proper to indulge them in the continuance of their national dreſs. If this conceſſion could have any effect, it might eaſily be made. That diſſimilitude of ap-

pearance, which was ſuppoſed to keep them diſtinct from the reſt of the nation, might diſincline them from coaleſcing with the *Penſylvanians*, or people of *Connecticut*. If the reſtitution of their arms will reconcile them to their country, let them have again thoſe weapons, which will not be more miſchievous at home than in the Colonies. That they may not fly from the increaſe of rent, I know not whether the general good does not require that the landlords be, for a time, reſtrained in their demands, and kept quiet by penſions proportionate to their loſs.

To hinder inſurrection, by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably, by having no ſubjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politicks. To ſoften the obdurate, to convince the miſtaken, to mollify the reſentful, are worthy of a ſtateſman; but it affords a legiſlator little ſelf-applauſe to conſider, that where

where there was formerly an inſurrection, there is now a wilderneſs.

It has been a queſtion often agitated without ſolution, why thoſe northern regions are now ſo thinly peopled, which formerly overwhelmed with their armies the Roman empire. The queſtion ſuppoſes what I believe is not true, that they had once more inhabitants than they could maintain, and overflowed only becauſe they were full.

This is to eſtimate the manners of all countries and ages by our own. Migration, while the ſtate of life was unſettled, and there was little communication of intelligence between diſtant places, was, among the wilder nations of Europe, capricious and caſual. An adventurous projector heard of a fertile coaſt unoccupied, and led out a colony; a chief of renown for bravery called the young men together, and led them out to try what fortune would preſent. When Cæſar

was in *Gaul*, he found the *Helvetians* preparing to go they knew not whither, and put a ſtop to their motions. They ſettled again in their own country, where they were ſo far from wanting room, that they had accumulated three years proviſion for their march.

The religion of the North was military; if they could not find enemies, it was their duty to make them: they travelled in queſt of danger, and willingly took the chance of Empire or Death. If their troops were numerous, the countries from which they were collected are of vaſt extent, and without much exuberance of people great armies may be raiſed where every man is a ſoldier. But their true numbers were never known. Thoſe who were conquered by them are their hiſtorians, and ſhame may have excited them to ſay, that they were overwhelmed with multitudes. To count is a modern practice, the ancient method

method was to gueſs; and when numbers are gueſſed they are always magnified.

Thus England has for ſeveral years been filled with the atchievements of ſeventy thouſand Highlanders employed in *America*. I have heard from an Engliſh officer, not much inclined to favour them, that their behaviour deſerved a very high degree of military praiſe; but their number has been much exaggerated. One of the miniſters told me, that ſeventy thouſand men could not have been found in all the Highlands, and that more than twelve thouſand never took the field. Thoſe that went to the American war, went to deſtruction. Of the old Highland regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred, only ſeventy-ſix ſurvived to ſee their country again.

The Gothick ſwarms have at leaſt been multiplied with equal liberality. That they bore no great proportion to the inhabitants, in whoſe countries they ſettled, is plain from the

the paucity of northern words now found in the provincial languages. Their country was not deſerted for want of room, becauſe it was covered with foreſts of vaſt extent; and the firſt effect of plenitude of inhabitants is the deſtruction of wood. As the Europeans ſpread over *America*, the lands are gradually laid naked.

I would not be underſtood to ſay, that neceſſity had never any part in their expeditions. A nation, whoſe agriculture is ſcanty or unſkilful, may be driven out by famine. A nation of hunters may have exhauſted their game. I only affirm that the northern regions were not, when their irruptions ſubdued the Romans, overpeopled with regard to their real extent of territory, and power of fertility. In a country fully inhabited, however afterwards laid waſte, evident marks will remain of its former populouſneſs. But of *Scandinavia* and *Germany*, nothing is known but that as we trace

trace their ſtate upwards into antiquity, their woods were greater, and their cultivated ground was leſs.

That cauſes very different from want of room may produce a general diſpoſition to ſeek another country is apparent from the preſent conduct of the Highlanders, who are in ſome places ready to threaten a total ſeceſſion. The numbers which have already gone, though like other numbers they may be magnified, are very great, and ſuch as, if they had gone together and agreed upon any certain ſettlement, might have founded an independent government in the depths of the weſtern continent. Nor are they only the loweſt and moſt indigent; many men of conſiderable wealth have taken with them their train of labourers and dependants; and if they continue the feudal ſcheme of polity, may eſtabliſh new clans in the other hemiſphere.

That

That the immediate motives of their deſertion muſt be imputed to their landlords may be reaſonably concluded, becauſe ſome Lairds of more prudence and leſs rapacity have kept their vaſſals undiminiſhed. From *Raaſa* only one man had been ſeduced, and at *Col* there was no wiſh to go away.

The traveller who comes hither from more opulent countries, to ſpeculate upon the remains of paſtoral life, will not much wonder that a common Highlander has no ſtrong adherence to his native ſoil; for of animal enjoyments, or of phyſical good, he leaves nothing that he may not find again whereſoever he may be thrown.

The habitations of men in the *Hebrides* may be diſtinguiſhed into huts and houſes. By a *houſe*, I mean a building with one ſtory over another; by a *hut*, a dwelling with only one floor. The Laird, who formerly

merly lived in a caſtle, now lives in a houſe; ſometimes ſufficiently neat, but ſeldom very ſpacious or ſplendid. The Tackſmen and the Miniſters have commonly houſes. Wherever there is a houſe, the ſtranger finds a welcome, and to the other evils of exterminating Tackſmen may be added the unavoidable ceſſation of hoſpitality, or the devolution of too heavy a burden on the Miniſters.

Of the houſes little can be ſaid. They are ſmall, and by the neceſſity of accumulating ſtores, where there are ſo few opportunities of purchaſe, the rooms are very heterogeneouſly filled. With want of cleanlineſs it were ingratitude to reproach them. The ſervants, having been bred upon the naked earth, think every floor clean, and the quick ſucceſſion of gueſts, perhaps not always over-elegant, does not allow much time for adjuſting their apartments.

Huts

Huts are of many gradations; from murky dens, to commodious dwellings.

The wall of a common hut is always built without mortar, by a ſkilful adaptation of looſe ſtones. Sometimes perhaps a double wall of ſtones is raiſed, and the intermediate ſpace filled with earth. The air is thus completely excluded. Some walls are, I think, formed of turfs, held together by a wattle, or texture of twigs. Of the meaneſt huts the firſt room is lighted by the entrance, and the ſecond by the ſmoke-hole. The fire is uſually made in the middle. But there are huts, or dwellings, of only one ſtory, inhabited by gentlemen, which have walls cemented with mortar, glaſs windows, and boarded floors. Of theſe all have chimneys, and ſome chimneys have grates.

The houſe and the furniture are not always nicely ſuited. We were driven once,

once, by miſſing a paſſage, to the hut of a gentleman, where, after a very liberal ſupper, when I was conducted to my chamber, I found an elegant bed of Indian cotton, ſpread with fine ſheets. The accommodation was flattering; I undreſſed myſelf, and felt my feet in the mire. The bed ſtood upon the bare earth, which along courſe of rain had ſoftened to a puddle.

In paſtoral countries the condition of the loweſt rank of people is ſufficiently wretched. Among manufacturers, men that have no property may have art and induſtry, which make them neceſſary, and therefore valuable. But where flocks and corn are the only wealth; there are always more hands than work, and of that work there is little in which ſkill and dexterity can be much diſtinguiſhed. He therefore who is born poor never can be rich. The ſon merely occupies the place of the father, and life

life knows nothing of progreſſion or advancement.

The petty tenants, and labouring peaſants, live in miſerable cabins, which afford them little more than ſhelter from the ſtorms. The Boor of *Norway* is ſaid to make all his own utenſils. In the *Hebrides*, whatever might be their ingenuity, the want of wood leaves them no materials. They are probably content with ſuch accommodations as ſtones of different forms and ſizes can afford them.

Their food is not better than their lodging. They ſeldom taſte the fleſh of land animals; for here are no markets. What each man eats is from his own ſtock. The great effect of money is to break property into ſmall parts. In towns, he that has a ſhilling may have a piece of meat; but where there is no commerce, no man can eat mutton but by killing a ſheep.

Fiſh

Fiſh in fair weather they need not want; but, I believe, man never lives long on fiſh but by conſtraint; he will rather feed upon roots and berries.

The only fewel of the Iſlands is peat. Their wood is all conſumed, and coal they have not yet found. Peat is dug out of the marſhes, from the depth of one foot to that of ſix. That is accounted the beſt which is neareſt the ſurface. It appears to be a maſs of black earth held together by vegetable fibres. I know not whether the earth be bituminous, or whether the fibres be not the only combuſtible part; which, by heating the interpoſed earth red hot, make a burning maſs. The heat is not very ſtrong nor laſting. The aſhes are yellowiſh, and in a large quantity. When they dig peat, they cut it into ſquare pieces, and pile it up to dry beſide the houſe. In ſome places it has an offenſive ſmell. It is like wood charked for the ſmith. The

common

common method of making peat fires is by heaping it on the hearth; but it burns well in grates, and in the beſt houſes is ſo uſed.

The common opinion is, that peat grows again where it has been cut; which, as it ſeems to be chiefly a vegetable ſubſtance, is not unlikely to be true, whether known or not to thoſe who relate it.

There are water mills in *Sky* and *Raaſa*; but where they are too far diſtant, the houſe-wives grind their oats with a quern, or hand-mill, which conſiſts of two ſtones, about a foot and a half in diameter, the lower is a little convex, to which the concavity of the upper muſt be fitted. In the middle of the upper ſtone is a round hole, and on one ſide is a long handle. The grinder ſheds the corn gradually into the hole with one hand, and works the handle round with the other. The corn ſlides down

down the convexity of the lower ſtone, and by the motion of the upper is ground in its paſſage. Theſe ſtones are found in *Loch-abar*.

The Iſlands afford few pleaſures, except to the hardy ſportſman, who can tread the moor and climb the mountain. The diſtance of one family from another, in a country where travelling has ſo much difficulty, makes frequent intercourſe impracticable. Viſits laſt ſeveral days, and are commonly paid by water; yet I never ſaw a boat furniſhed with benches, or made commodious by any addition to the firſt fabrick. Conveniencies are not miſſed where they never were enjoyed.

The ſolace which the bagpipe can give they have long enjoyed; but among other changes, which the laſt Revolution introduced, the uſe of the bagpipe begins to be forgotten. Some of the chief families

ſtill

ſtill entertain a piper, whoſe office was anciently hereditary. *Macrimmon* was piper to *Macleod*, and *Rankin* to *Maclean* of *Col*.

The tunes of the bagpipe are traditional. There has been in *Sky*, beyond all time of memory, a college of pipers, under the direction of *Macrimmon*, which is not quite extinct. There was another in *Mull*, ſuperintended by *Rankin*, which expired about ſixteen years ago. To theſe colleges, while the pipe retained its honour, the ſtudents of muſick repaired for education. I have had my dinner exhilarated by the bagpipe, at *Armidale*, at *Dunvegan*, and in *Col*.

The general converſation of the Iſlanders has nothing particular. I did not meet with the inquiſitiveneſs of which I have read, and ſuſpect the judgment to have been raſhly made. A ſtranger of curioſity comes into a place where a ſtranger is ſeldom

dom ſeen: he importunes the people with queſtions, of which they cannot gueſs the motive, and gazes with ſurpriſe on things which they, having had them always before their eyes, do not ſuſpect of any thing wonderful. He appears to them like ſome being of another world, and then thinks it peculiar that they take their turn to inquire whence he comes, and whither he is going.

The Iſlands were long unfurniſhed with inſtruction for youth, and none but the ſons of gentlemen could have any literature. There are now parochial ſchools, to which the lord of every manor pays a certain ſtipend. Here the children are taught to read; and by the rule of their inſtitution they teach only *Engliſh*, ſo that the natives read a language which they may never uſe or underſtand. If a pariſh, which often happens, contains ſeveral Iſlands, the ſchool, being but in one, cannot aſſiſt the reſt.

reſt. This is the ſtate of *Col*, which, however, is more enlightened than ſome other places; for the deficiency is ſupplied by a young gentleman, who, for his own improvement, travels every year on foot over the Highlands to the ſeſſion at Aberdeen; and at his return, during the vacation, teaches to read and write in his native Iſland.

In *Sky* there are two grammar ſchools, where boarders are taken to be regularly educated. The price of board is from three pounds, to four pounds ten ſhillings a year, and that of inſtruction is half a crown a quarter. But the ſcholars are birds of paſſage, who live at ſchool only in the ſummer; for in winter proviſions cannot be made for any conſiderable number in one place. This periodical diſperſion impreſſes ſtrongly the ſcarcity of theſe countries.

I heard

Having heard of no boarding-ſchool for ladies nearer than *Inverneſs*, I ſuppoſe their education is generally domeſtick. The elder daughters of the higher families are ſent into the world, and may contribute by their acquiſitions to the improvement of the reſt.

Women muſt here ſtudy to be either pleaſing or uſeful. Their deficiencies are ſeldom ſupplied by very liberal fortunes. A hundred pounds is a portion beyond the hope of any but the Laird's daughter. They do not indeed often give money with their daughters; the queſtion is, How many cows a young lady will bring her huſband. A rich maiden has from ten to forty; but two cows are a decent fortune for one who pretends to no diſtinction.

The religion of the Iſlands is that of the Kirk of *Scotland*. The gentlemen with whom I converſed are all inclined to the

Engliſh liturgy; but they are obliged to maintain the eſtabliſhed Miniſter, and the country is too poor to afford payment to another, who muſt live wholly on the contribution of his audience.

They therefore all attend the worſhip of the Kirk, as often as a viſit from their Miniſter, or the practicability of travelling gives them opportunity; nor have they any reaſon to complain of inſufficient paſtors; for I ſaw not one in the Iſlands, whom I had reaſon to think either deficient in learning, or irregular in life; but found ſeveral with whom I could not converſe without wiſhing, as my reſpect increaſed, that they had not been Preſbyterians.

The ancient rigour of puritaniſm is now very much relaxed, though all are not yet equally enlightened. I ſometimes met with prejudices ſufficiently malignant, but they were prejudices of ignorance. The

Miniſters

Miniſters in the Iſlands had attained ſuch knowledge as may juſtly be admired in men, who have no motive to ſtudy but generous curioſity, or, what is ſtill better, deſire of uſefulneſs; with ſuch politeneſs as ſo narrow a circle of converſe could not have ſupplied, but to minds naturally diſpoſed to elegance.

Reaſon and truth will prevail at laſt. The moſt learned of the Scottiſh Doctors would now gladly admit a form of prayer, if the people would endure it. The zeal or rage of congregations has its different degrees. In ſome pariſhes the Lord's Prayer is ſuffered: in others it is ſtill rejected as a form; and he that ſhould make it part of his ſupplications would be ſuſpected of heretical pravity.

The principle upon which extemporary prayer was originally introduced is no longer admitted. The Miniſter formerly,

in the effuſion of his prayer, expected immediate, and perhaps perceptible inſpiration, and therefore thought it his duty not to think before, what he ſhould ſay. It is now univerſally confeſſed, that men pray as they ſpeak on other occaſions, according to the general meaſure of their abilities and attainments. Whatever each may think of a form preſcribed by another, he cannot but believe that he can himſelf compoſe by ſtudy and meditation a better prayer than will riſe in his mind at a ſudden call; and if he has any hope of ſupernatural help, why may he not as well receive it when he writes as when he ſpeaks.

In the variety of mental powers, ſome muſt perform extemporary prayer with much imperfection; and in the eagerneſs and raſhneſs of contradictory opinions, if publick liturgy be left to the private judgment of every Miniſter, the congre-

congregation may often be offended or miſled.

There is in Scotland, as among ourſelves, a reſtleſs ſuſpicion of popiſh machinations, and a clamour of numerous converts to the Romiſh religion. The report is, I believe, in both parts of the Iſlands equally falſe. The Romiſh religion is profeſſed only in *Egg* and *Canna*, two ſmall iſlands, into which the Reformation never made its way. If any miſſionaries are buſy in the Highlands, their zeal entitles them to reſpect, even from thoſe who cannot think favourably of their doctrine.

The political tenets of the Iſlanders I was not curious to inveſtigate, and they were not eager to obtrude. Their converſation is decent and inoffenſive. They diſdain to drink for their principles, and there is no diſaffection at their tables. I never heard a health offered by a Highlander that

might not have circulated with propriety within the precincts of the King's palace.

Legal government has yet ſomething of novelty to which they cannot perfectly conform. The ancient ſpirit, that appealed only to the ſword, is yet among them. The tenant of *Scalpa*, an iſland belonging to Macdonald, took no care to bring his rent; when the landlord talked of exacting payment, he declared his reſolution to keep his ground, and drive all intruders from the Iſland, and continued to feed his cattle as on his own land, till it became neceſſary for the Sheriff to diſlodge him by violence.

The various kinds of ſuperſtition which prevailed here, as in all other regions of ignorance, are by the diligence of the Miniſters almoſt extirpated.

Of *Browny*, mentioned by Martin, nothing has been heard for many years.

Browny

Browny was a ſturdy Fairy; who, if he was fed, and kindly treated, would, as they ſaid, do a great deal of work. They now pay him no wages, and are content to labour for themſelves.

In *Troda*, within theſe three-and-thirty years, milk was put every Saturday for *Greogach*, or *the Old Man with the Long Beard.* Whether *Greogach* was courted as kind, or dreaded as terrible, whether they meant, by giving him the milk, to obtain good, or avert evil, I was not informed. The Miniſter is now living by whom the Practice was aboliſhed.

They have ſtill among them a great number of charms for the cure of different diſeaſes; they are all invocations, perhaps tranſmitted to them from the times of popery, which increaſing knowledge will bring into diſuſe.

They have opinions, which cannot be ranked with ſuperſtition, becauſe they re-

gard only natural effects. They expect better crops of grain, by ſowing their ſeed in the moon's increaſe. The moon has great influence in vulgar philoſophy. In my memory it was a precept annually given in one of the *Engliſh* Almanacks, *to kill hogs when the moon was increaſing, and the bacon would prove the better in boiling.*

We ſhould have had little claim to the praiſe of curioſity, if we had not endeavoured with particular attention to examine the queſtion of the *Second Sight.* Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation, and ſuppoſed to be confirmed through its whole deſcent, by a ſeries of ſucceſſive facts, it is deſirable that the truth ſhould be eſtabliſhed, or the fallacy detected.

The *Second Sight* is an impreſſion made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things diſtant or future are perceived, and ſeen as if they were

were preſent. A man on a journey far from home falls from his horſe, another, who is perhaps at work about the houſe, ſees him bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landſcape of the place where the accident befalls him. Another ſeer, driving home his cattle, or wandering in idleneſs, or muſing in the ſunſhine, is ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the appearance of a bridal ceremony, or funeral proceſſion, and counts the mourners or attendants, of whom, if he knows them, he relates the names, if he knows them not, he can deſcribe the dreſſes. Things diſtant are ſeen at the inſtant when they happen. Of things future I know not that there is any rule for determining the time between the Sight and the event.

This receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is neither voluntary nor conſtant. The appearances have no dependence upon choice: they cannot be ſummoned, detained, or recalled. The im-

preſſion is ſudden, and the effect often painful.

By the term *Second Sight*, ſeems to be meant a mode of ſeeing, ſuperadded to that which Nature generally beſtows. In the *Earſe* it is called *Taiſch*; which ſignifies likewiſe a ſpectre, or a viſion. I know not, nor is it likely that the Highlanders ever examined, whether by *Taiſch*, uſed for *Second Sight*, they mean the power of ſeeing, or the thing ſeen.

I do not find it to be true, as it is reported, that to the *Second Sight* nothing is preſented but phantoms of evil. Good ſeems to have the ſame proportion in thoſe viſionary ſcenes, as it obtains in real life: almoſt all remarkable events have evil for their baſis; and are either miſeries incurred, or miſeries eſcaped. Our ſenſe is ſo much ſtronger of what we ſuffer, than of what we enjoy, that the ideas of pain predominate

dominate in almoſt every mind. What is recollection but a revival of vexations, or hiſtory but a record of wars, treaſons, and calamities? Death, which is conſidered as the greateſt evil, happens to all. The greateſt good, be it what it will, is the lot but of a part.

That they ſhould often ſee death is to be expected; becauſe death is an event frequent and important. But they ſee likewiſe more pleaſing incidents. A gentleman told me, that when he had once gone far from his own Iſland, one of his labouring ſervants predicted his return, and deſcribed the livery of his attendant, which he had never worn at home; and which had been, without any previous deſign, occaſionally given him.

Our deſire of information was keen, and our inquiry frequent. Mr. Boſwell's frankneſs and gaiety made every body communicative;

cative; and we heard many tales of theſe airy ſhows, with more or leſs evidence and diſtinctneſs.

It is the common talk of the Lowland *Scots*, that the notion of the *Second Sight* is wearing away with other ſuperſtitions; and that its reality is no longer ſuppoſed but by the groſſeſt people. How far its prevalence ever extended, or what ground it has loſt, I know not. The Iſlanders of all degrees, whether of rank or underſtanding, univerſally admit it, except the Miniſters, who univerſally deny it, and are ſuſpected to deny it, in conſequence of a ſyſtem, againſt conviction. One of them honeſtly told me, that he came to *Sky* with a reſolution not to believe it.

Strong reaſons for incredulity will readily occur. This faculty of ſeeing things out of ſight is local, and commonly uſeleſs. It is a breach of the common order of things, without

without any viſible reaſon or perceptible benefit. It is aſcribed only to a people very little enlightened; and among them, for the moſt part, to the mean and the ignorant.

To the confidence of theſe objections it may be replied, that by preſuming to determine what is fit, and what is beneficial, they preſuppoſe more knowledge of the univerſal ſyſtem than man has attained; and therefore depend upon principles too complicated and extenſive for our comprehenſion; and that there can be no ſecurity in the conſequence, when the premiſes are not underſtood; that the *Second Sight* is only wonderful becauſe it is rare, for, conſidered in itſelf, it involves no more difficulty than dreams, or perhaps than the regular exerciſe of the cogitative faculty; that a general opinion of communicative impulſes, or viſionary repreſentations, has prevailed in all ages and all nations; that

particular

particular inſtances have been given, with ſuch evidence, as neither *Bacon* nor *Bayle* has been able to reſiſt; that ſudden impreſſions, which the event has verified, have been felt by more than own or publiſh them; that the *Second Sight* of the *Hebrides* implies only the local frequency of a power, which is no where totally unknown; and that where we are unable to decide by antecedent reaſon, we muſt be content to yield to the force of teſtimony.

By pretenſion to *Second Sight* no profit was ever ſought or gained. It is an involuntary affection, in which neither hope nor fear are known to have any part. Thoſe who profeſs to feel it do not boaſt of it as a privilege, nor are conſidered by others as advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed. They have no temptation to feign; and their hearers have no motive to encourage the impoſture.

To talk with any of these seers is not easy. There is one living in *Sky*, with whom we would have gladly conversed; but he was very gross and ignorant, and knew no *English*. The proportion in these countries of the poor to the rich is such, that if we suppose the quality to be accidental, it can very rarely happen to a man of education; and yet on such men it has sometimes fallen. There is now a Second Sighted gentleman in the Highlands, who complains of the terrors to which he is exposed.

The foresight of the Seers is not always prescience: they are impressed with images, of which the event only shows them the meaning. They tell what they have seen to others, who are at that time not more knowing than themselves, but may become at last very adequate witnesses, by comparing the narrative with its verification.

To collect ſufficient teſtimonies for the ſatisfaction of the publick, or of ourſelves, would have required more time than we could beſtow. There is, againſt it, the ſeeming analogy of things confuſedly ſeen, and little underſtood; and for it, the indiſtinct cry of national perſuaſion, which may be perhaps reſolved at laſt into prejudice and tradition. I never could advance my curioſity to conviction; but came away at laſt only willing to believe.

As there ſubſiſts no longer in the Iſlands much of that peculiar and diſcriminative form of life, of which the idea had delighted our imagination, we were willing to liſten to ſuch accounts of paſt times as would be given us. But we ſoon found what memorials were to be expected from an illiterate people, whoſe whole time is a ſeries of diſtreſs; where every morning is labouring with expedients for the evening; and where all mental pains or pleaſure aroſe from

from the dread of winter, the expectation of ſpring, the caprices of their Chiefs, and the motions of the neighbouring clans; where there was neither ſhame from ignorance, nor pride in knowledge; neither curioſity to inquire, nor vanity to communicate.

The Chiefs indeed were exempt from urgent penury, and daily difficulties; and in their houſes were preſerved what accounts remained of paſt ages. But the Chiefs were ſometimes ignorant and careleſs, and ſometimes kept buſy by turbulence and contention; and one generation of ignorance effaces the whole ſeries of unwritten hiſtory. Books are faithful repoſitories, which may be a while neglected or forgotten; but when they are opened again, will again impart their inſtruction: memory, once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hid-

den

den it has paſt away, is again bright in its proper ſtation. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled.

It ſeems to be univerſally ſuppoſed, that much of the local hiſtory was preſerved by the Bards, of whom one is ſaid to have been retained by every great family. After theſe Bards were ſome of my firſt inquiries; and I received ſuch anſwers as, for a while, made me pleaſe myſelf with my increaſe of knowledge; for I had not then learned how to eſtimate the narration of a Highlander.

They ſaid that a great family had a *Bard* and a *Senachi*, who were the poet and hiſtorian of the houſe; and an old gentleman told me that he remembered one of each. Here was a dawn of intelligence. Of men that had lived within memory ſome certain knowledge might be attained. Though the office had ceaſed, its effects might

might continue; the poems might be found, though there was no poet.

Another converſation indeed informed me, that the ſame man was both Bard and Senachi. This variation diſcouraged me; but as the practice might be different in different times, or at the ſame time in different families, there was yet no reaſon for ſuppoſing that I muſt neceſſarily ſit down in total ignorance.

Soon after I was told by a gentleman, who is generally acknowledged the greateſt maſter of *Hebridian* antiquities, that there had indeed once been both Bards and Senachies; and that *Senachi* ſignified *the man of talk*, or of converſation; but that neither Bard nor Senachi had exiſted for ſome centuries. I have no reaſon to ſuppoſe it exactly known at what time the cuſtom ceaſed, nor did it probably ceaſe in all houſes at once. But whenever the practice

of

of recitation was diſuſed, the works, whether poetical or hiſtorical, periſhed with the authors; for in thoſe times nothing had been written in the *Earſe* language.

Whether the *Man of talk* was a hiſtorian, whoſe office was to tell truth, or a ſtory-teller, like thoſe which were in the laſt century, and perhaps are now among the Iriſh, whoſe trade was only to amuſe, it now would be vain to inquire.

Moſt of the domeſtick offices were, I believe, hereditary; and probably the laureat of a clan was always the ſon of the laſt laureat. The hiſtory of the race could no otherwiſe be communicated, or retained; but what genius could be expected in a poet by inheritance?

The nation was wholly illiterate. Neither bards nor Senachies could write or read; but if they were ignorant, there was

no

no danger of detection; they were believed by thoſe whoſe vanity they flattered.

The recital of genealogies, which has been conſidered as very efficacious to the preſervation of a true ſeries of anceſtry, was anciently made, when the heir of the family came to manly age. This practice has never ſubſiſted within time of memory, nor was much credit due to ſuch rehearſers, who might obtrude fictitious pedigrees, either to pleaſe their maſters, or to hide the deficiency of their own memories.

Where the Chiefs of the Highlands have found the hiſtories of their deſcent is difficult to tell; for no *Earſe* genealogy was ever written. In general this only is evident, that the principal houſe of a clan muſt be very ancient, and that thoſe muſt have lived long in a place, of whom it is not known when they came thither.

Thus

Thus hopeleſs are all attempts to find any traces of Highland learning. Nor are their primitive cuſtoms and ancient manner of life otherwiſe than very faintly and uncertainly remembered by the preſent race.

The peculiarities which ſtrike the native of a commercial country proceeded in a great meaſure from the want of money. To the ſervants and dependents that were not domeſticks, (and if an eſtimate be made from the capacity of any of their old houſes which I have ſeen, their domeſticks could have been but few,)were appropriated certain portions of land for their ſupport. *Macdonald* has a piece of ground yet, called the Bards or Senachies field. When a beef was killed for the houſe, particular parts were claimed as fees by the ſeveral officers, or workmen. What was the right of each I have not learned. The head belonged to the ſmith, and the udder of a cow to the piper:

piper: the weaver had likewiſe his particular part; and ſo many pieces followed theſe preſcriptive claims, that the Laird's was at laſt but little.

The payment of rent in kind has been ſo long diſuſed in England, that it is totally forgotten. It was practiſed very lately in the *Hebrides*, and probably ſtill continues, not only in St. *Kilda*, where money is not yet known, but in others of the ſmaller and remoter Iſlands. It were perhaps to be deſired, that no change in this particular ſhould have been made. When the Laird could only eat the produce of his lands, he was under the neceſſity of reſiding upon them; and when the tenant could not convert his ſtock into more portable riches, he could never be tempted away from his farm, from the only place where he could be wealthy. Money confounds ſubordination, by overpowering the diſtinctions of rank and birth, and weakens authority

thority by ſupplying power of reſiſtance, or expedients for eſcape. The feudal ſyſtem is formed for a nation employed in agriculture, and has never long kept its hold where gold and ſilver have become common.

Their arms were anciently the *Glaymore*, or great two-handed ſword, and afterwards the two-edged ſword and target, or buckler, which was ſuſtained on the left arm. In the midſt of the target, which was made of wood, covered with leather, and ſtudded with nails, a ſlender lance, about two feet long, was ſometimes fixed; it was heavy and cumberous, and accordingly has for ſome time paſt been gradually laid aſide. Very few targets were at *Culloden*. The dirk, or broad dagger, I am afraid, was of more uſe in private quarrels than in battles. The Lochaber-ax is only a ſlight alteration of the old *Engliſh* bill.

After

After all that has been ſaid of the force and terrour of the Highland ſword, I could not find that the art of defence was any part of common education. The gentlemen were perhaps ſometimes ſkilful gladiators, but the common men had no other powers than thoſe of violence and courage. Yet it is well known, that the onſet of the Highlanders was very formidable. As an army cannot conſiſt of philoſophers, a panick is eaſily excited by an unwonted mode of annoyance. New dangers are naturally magnified; and men accuſtomed only to exchange bullets at a diſtance, and rather to hear their enemies than ſee them, are diſcouraged and amazed when they find themſelves encountered hand to hand, and catch the gleam of ſteel flaſhing in their faces.

The Highland weapons gave opportunity for many exertions of perſonal courage, and ſometimes for ſingle combats in

the field; like thoſe which occur ſo frequently in fabulous wars. At Falkirk, a gentleman now living was, I ſuppoſe after the retreat of the King's troops, engaged at a diſtance from the reſt with an Iriſh dragoon. They were both ſkilful ſwordſmen, and the conteſt was not eaſily decided: the dragoon at laſt had the advantage, and the Highlander called for quarter; but quarter was refuſed him, and the fight continued till he was reduced to defend himſelf upon his knee. At that inſtant one of the *Macleods* came to his reſcue; who, as it is ſaid, offered quarter to the dragoon, but he thought himſelf obliged to reject what he had before refuſed, and, as battle gives little time to deliberate, was immediately killed.

Funerals were formerly ſolemnized by calling multitudes together, and entertaining them at great expence. This emulation of uſeleſs coſt has been for ſome time diſcouraged,

couraged, and at laſt in the Iſle of *Sky* is almoſt ſuppreſſed.

Of the *Earſe* language, as I underſtand nothing, I cannot ſay more than I have been told. It is the rude ſpeech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to expreſs, and were content, as they conceived groſsly, to be groſsly underſtood. After what has been lately talked of Highland Bards, and Highland genius, many will ſtartle when they are told that the *Earſe* never was a written language; that there is not in the world an *Earſe* manuſcript a hundred years old; and that the ſounds of the Highlanders were never expreſſed by letters, till ſome little books of piety were tranſlated, and a metrical verſion of the Pſalms was made by the Synod of *Argyle*. Whoever therefore now writes in this language ſpells according to his own perception of the ſound, and his own idea of the

power of the letters. The *Welſh* and the *Iriſh* are cultivated tongues. The Welſh, two hundred years ago, inſulted their *Engliſh* neighbours for the inſtability of their Orthography; while the *Earſe* merely floated in the breath of the people, and could therefore receive little improvement.

When a language begins to teem with books, it is tending to refinement; as thoſe who undertake to teach others muſt have undergone ſome labour in improving themſelves, they ſet a proportionate value on their own thoughts, and wiſh to enforce them by efficacious expreſſions; ſpeech becomes embodied and permanent; different modes and phraſes are compared, and the beſt obtains an eſtabliſhment. By degrees one age improves upon another. Exactneſs is firſt obtained, and afterwards elegance. But diction, merely vocal, is always in its childhood. As no man leaves

his

his eloquence behind him, the new generations have all to learn. There may poſſibly be books without a poliſhed language, but there can be no poliſhed language without books.

That the Bards could not read more than the reſt of their countrymen, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe; becauſe, if they had read, they could probably have written; and how high their compoſitions may reaſonably be rated, an inquirer may beſt judge by conſidering what ſtores of imagery, what principles of ratiocination, what comprehenſion of knowledge, and what delicacy of elocution he has known any man attain who cannot read. The ſtate of the Bards was yet more hopeleſs. He that cannot read may now converſe with thoſe that can; but the Bard was a barbarian among barbarians, who, knowing nothing himſelf, lived with others that knew no more.

There has lately been in the Iſlands one of theſe illiterate poets, who hearing the Bible read at church, is ſaid to have turned the ſacred hiſtory into verſe. I heard part of a dialogue, compoſed by him, tranſlated by a young lady in *Mull*, and thought it had more meaning than I expected from a man totally uneducated; but he had ſome opportunities of knowledge; he lived among a learned people. After all that has been done for the inſtruction of the Highlanders, the antipathy between their language and literature ſtill continues; and no man that has learned only *Earſe* is, at this time, able to read.

The *Earſe* has many dialects, and the words uſed in ſome Iſlands are not always known in others. In literate nations, though the pronunciation, and ſometimes the words of common ſpeech may differ, as now in *England*, compared with the South of *Scotland*, yet there is a written diction,

diction, which pervades all dialects, and is underſtood in every province. But where the whole language is colloquial, he that has only one part never gets the reſt, as he cannot get it but by change of reſidence.

In an unwritten ſpeech, nothing that is not very ſhort is tranſmitted from one generation to another. Few have opportunities of hearing a long compoſition often enough to learn it, or have inclination to repeat it ſo often as is neceſſary to retain it; and what is once forgotten is loſt for ever. I believe there cannot be recovered, in the whole *Earſe* language, five hundred lines of which there is any evidence to prove them a hundred years old. Yet I hear that the father of *Oſſian* boaſts of two cheſts more of ancient poetry, which he ſuppreſſes, becauſe they are too good for the *Engliſh*.

He that goes into the Highlands with a mind naturally acquieſcent, and a credulity eager for wonders, may come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants, knowing the ignorance of all ſtrangers in their language and antiquities, perhaps are not very ſcrupulous adherents to truth; yet I do not ſay that they deliberately ſpeak ſtudied falſehood, or have a ſettled purpoſe to deceive. They have inquired and conſidered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accuſtomed to be interrogated by others; and ſeem never to have thought upon interrogating themſelves; ſo that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewiſe do not diſtinctly perceive it to be falſe.

Mr. Boſwell was very diligent in his inquiries; and the reſult of his inveſtigations was, that the anſwer to the ſecond queſtion was

was commonly ſuch as nullified the anſwer to the firſt.

We were a while told, that they had an old tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and told it till it would appear obſtinacy to inquire again. Yet by continued accumulation of queſtions we found, that the tranſlation meant, if any meaning there were, was nothing elſe than the *Iriſh* Bible.

We heard of manuſcripts that were, or that had been, in the hands of ſomebody's father, or grandfather; but at laſt we had no reaſon to believe they were other than Iriſh. *Martin* mentions Iriſh, but never any *Barſe* manuſcripts, to be found in the Iſlands in his time.

I ſuppoſe my opinion of the poems of *Oſſian* is already diſcovered. I believe they never exiſted in any other form than that which we have ſeen. The editor, or author, never could ſhow the original; nor can it be ſhown by any other; to revenge

reaſonable incredulity, by refuſing evidence, is a degree of inſolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and ſtubborn audacity is the laſt refuge of guilt. It would be eaſy to ſhow it if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language formerly had nothing written. He has doubtleſs inſerted names that circulate in popular ſtories, and may have tranſlated ſome wandering ballads, if they can be found; and the names, and ſome of the images being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caledonian bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole.

I aſked a very learned Miniſter in *Sky*, who had uſed all arts to make me believe the genuineneſs of the book, whether at laſt he believed it himſelf? but he would not anſwer. He wiſhed me to be deceived, for the honour of his country; but would not directly and formally deceive me. Yet has this man's teſtimony been

been publickly produced, as of one that held *Fingal* to be the work of *Oſſian*.

It is ſaid, that ſome men of integrity profeſs to have heard parts of it, but they all heard them when they were boys; and it was never ſaid that any of them could recite ſix lines. They remember names, and perhaps ſome proverbial ſentiments; and, having no diſtinct ideas, coin a reſemblance without an original. The perſuaſion of the Scots, however, is far from univerſal; and in a queſtion ſo capable of proof, why ſhould doubt be ſuffered to continue? The editor has been heard to ſay, that part of the poem was received by him, in the Saxon character. He has then found, by ſome peculiar fortune, an unwritten language, written in a character which the natives probably never beheld.

I have yet ſuppoſed no impoſture but in the publiſher, yet I am far from certainty, that ſome tranſlations have not been lately made,

made, that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work. Credulity on one part is a ſtrong temptation to deceit on the other, eſpecially to deceit of which no perſonal injury is the conſequence, and which flatters the author with his own ingenuity. The Scots have ſomething to plead for their eaſy reception of an improbable fiction: they are ſeduced by their fondneſs for their ſuppoſed anceſtors. A Scotchman muſt be a very ſturdy moraliſt, who does not love *Scotland* better than truth: he will always love it better than inquiry; and if falſehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the *Engliſh* to be much influenced by *Scotch* authority; for of the paſt and preſent ſtate of the whole *Earſe* nation the Lowlanders are at leaſt as ignorant as ourſelves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneaſineſs by the deluſive opiate of haſty perſuaſion.

But

But this is the age in which thoſe who could not read have been ſuppoſed to write; in which the giants of antiquated romance have been exhibited as realities. If we know little of the ancient Highlanders, let us not fill the vacuity with *Oſſian*. If we have not ſearched the *Magellanick* regions, let us however forbear to people them with *Patagons*.

Having waited ſome days at *Armidel*, we were flattered at laſt with a wind that promiſed to convey us to *Mull*. We went on board a boat that was taking in kelp, and left the Iſle of *Sky* behind us. We were doomed to experience, like others, the danger of truſting to the wind, which blew againſt us, in a ſhort time, with ſuch violence, that we, being no ſeaſoned ſailors, were willing to call it a tempeſt. I was ſea-ſick and lay down. Mr. *Boſwell* kept the deck. The maſter knew not well whither to go; and our difficulties might perhaps have filled a very pathetick page,

had

had not Mr. *Maclean* of *Col*, who, with every other qualification which inſular life requires, is a very active and ſkilful mariner, piloted us ſafe into his own harbour.

C O L.

In the morning we found ourſelves under the Iſle of *Col*, where we landed; and paſſed the firſt day and night with Captain *Maclean*, a gentleman who has lived ſome time in the Eaſt Indies; but, having dethroned no Nabob, is not too rich to ſettle in his own country.

Next day the wind was fair, and we might have had an eaſy paſſage to *Mull*; but having, contrarily to our own intention, landed upon a new Iſland, we would not leave it wholly unexamined. We therefore ſuffered the veſſel to depart without us, and truſted the ſkies for another wind.

Mr. *Maclean* of *Col*, having a very numerous family, has, for ſome time paſt, reſided

reſided at *Aberdeen*, that he may ſuperintend their education, and leaves the young gentleman, our friend, to govern his dominions, with the full power of a Highland Chief. By the abſence of the Laird's family, our entertainment was made more difficult, becauſe the houſe was in a great degree diſfurniſhed; but young Col's kindneſs and activity ſupplied all defects, and procured us more than ſufficient accommodation.

Here I firſt mounted a little Highland ſteed; and if there had been many ſpectators, ſhould have been ſomewhat aſhamed of my figure in the march. The horſes of the Iſlands, as of other barren countries, are very low: they are indeed muſculous and ſtrong, beyond what their ſize gives reaſon for expecting; but a bulky man upon one of their backs makes a very diſproportionate appearance.

MINERVA ROOMS Cork

From

From the habitation of Captain *Maclean*, we went to *Griſſipol*, but called by the way on Mr. *Hector Maclean*, the Miniſter of *Col*, whom we found in a hut, that is, a houſe of only one floor, but with windows and chimney, and not inelegantly furniſhed. Mr. *Maclean* has the reputation of great learning: he is ſeventy-ſeven years old, but not infirm, with a look of venerable dignity, excelling what I remember in any other man.

His converſation was not unſuitable to his appearance. I loſt ſome of his goodwill, by treating a heretical writer with more regard than, in his opinion, a heretick could deſerve. I honoured his orthodoxy, and did not much cenſure his aſperity. A man who has ſettled his opinions, does not love to have the tranquillity of his conviction diſturbed; and at ſeventy-ſeven it is time to be in earneſt.

I men

Mention was made of the *Earſe* tranſlation of the New Teſtament, which has been lately publiſhed, and of which the learned Mr. *Macqueen* of *Sky* ſpoke with commendation; but Mr. *Maclean* ſaid he did not uſe it, becauſe he could make the text more intelligible to his auditors by an extemporary verſion. From this I inferred, that the language of the tranſlation was not the language of the Iſle of *Col*.

He has no publick edifice for the exerciſe of his miniſtry; and can officiate to no greater number, than a room can contain; and the room of a hut is not very large. This is all the opportunity of worſhip that is now granted to the inhabitants of the Iſland, ſome of whom muſt travel thither perhaps ten miles. Two chapels were erected by their anceſtors, of which I ſaw the ſkeletons, which now ſtand faithful witneſſes of the triumph of Reformation.

The

The want of churches is not the only impediment to piety: there is likewiſe a want of Miniſters. A pariſh often contains more Iſlands than one; and each Iſland can have the Miniſter only in its own turn. At *Raaſa* they had, I think, a right to ſervice only every third Sunday. All the proviſion made by the preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, for the inhabitants of about a hundred ſquare miles, is a prayer and ſermon in a little room, once in three weeks: and even this parſimonious diſtribution is at the mercy of the weather; and in thoſe Iſlands where the Miniſter does not reſide, it is impoſſible to tell how many weeks or months may paſs without any publick exerciſe of religion.

GRISSIPOL IN COL.

After a ſhort converſation with Mr. *Maclean*, we went on to *Griſſipol*, a houſe and farm tenanted by Mr. *Mackſweyn*, where I ſaw

ſaw more of the ancient life of a Highlander, than I had yet found. Mrs. *Macſweyn* could ſpeak no *Engliſh*, and had never ſeen any other places than the Iſlands of *Sky*, *Mull*, and *Col*: but ſhe was hoſpitable and good-humoured, and ſpread her table with ſufficient liberality. We found tea here, as in every other place, but our ſpoons were of horn.

The houſe of *Griſſipol* ſtands by a brook very clear and quick; which is, I ſuppoſe, one of the moſt copious ſtreams in the Iſland. This place was the ſcene of an action, much celebrated in the traditional hiſtory of *Col*, but which probably no two relaters will tell alike.

Some time, in the obſcure ages, *Macneil* of *Barra* married the Lady *Maclean*, who had the Iſle of *Col* for her jointure. Whether *Macneil* detained *Col*, when the widow was dead, or whether ſhe lived ſo

long

long as to make her heirs impatient, is perhaps not now known. The younger ſon, called *John Gerves*, or *John the Giant*, a man of great ſtrength, who was then in *Ireland*, either for ſafety, or for education, dreamed of recovering his inheritance; and getting ſome adventurers together, which, in thoſe unſettled times, was not hard to do, invaded *Col*. He was driven away, but was not diſcouraged, and collecting new followers, in three years came again with fifty men. In his way he ſtopped at *Artoriniſh* in *Morvern*, where his uncle was priſoner to *Macleod*, and was then with his enemies in a tent. *Maclean* took with him only one ſervant, whom he ordered to ſtay at the outſide; and where he ſhould ſee the tent preſſed outwards, to ſtrike with his dirk; it being the intention of *Maclean*, as any man provoked him, to lay hands upon him, and puſh him back. He entered the tent alone, with his *Lochabar-axe* in his hand, and ſtruck ſuch terror into

into the whole aſſembly, that they diſmiſſed his uncle.

When he landed at *Col*, he ſaw the ſentinel, who kept watch towards the ſea, running off to *Griſſipol*, to give *Macneil*, who was there with a hundred and twenty men, an account of the invaſion. He told *Macgill*, one of his followers, that if he intercepted that dangerous intelligence, by catching the courier, he would give him certain lands in *Mull*. Upon this promiſe, *Macgill* purſued the meſſenger, and either killed, or ſtopped him; and his poſterity, till very lately, held the lands in *Mull*.

The alarm being thus prevented, he came unexpectedly upon *Macneil*. Chiefs were in thoſe days never wholly unprovided for an enemy. A fight enſued, in which one of their followers is ſaid to have given an extraordinary proof of activity, by bound-

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ing backwards over the brook of *Griſſipol*. *Macneil* being killed, and many of his clan deſtroyed, *Maclean* took poſſeſſion of the Iſland, which the *Macneils* attempted to conquer by another invaſion, but were defeated and repulſed.

Maclean, in his turn, invaded the eſtate of the *Macneils*, took the caſtle of *Brecacig*, and conquered the Iſle of *Barra*, which he held for ſeven years, and then reſtored it to the heirs.

CASTLE OF COL.

From *Griſſipol*, Mr. *Maclean* conducted us to his father's ſeat; a neat new houſe, erected near the old caſtle, I think, by the laſt proprietor. Here we were allowed to take our ſtation, and lived very commodiouſly, while we waited for moderate weather and a fair wind, which we did not ſo ſoon obtain, but we had time to get

ſome

ſome information of the preſent ſtate of *Col*, partly by inquiry, and partly by occaſional excurſions.

Col is computed to be thirteen miles in length, and three in breadth. Both the ends are the property of the Duke of *Argyle*, but the middle belongs to *Maclean*, who is called *Col*, as the only Laird.

Col is not properly rocked; it is rather one continued rock, of a ſurface much diverſified with protuberances, and covered with a thin layer of earth, which is often broken, and diſcovers the ſtone. Such a ſoil is not for plants that ſtrike deep roots; and perhaps in the whole Iſland nothing has ever yet grown to the height of a table. The uncultivated parts are clothed with heath, among which induſtry has interſperſed ſpots of graſs and corn; but no attempt has yet been made to raiſe a tree. Young *Col*, who has a very laudable deſire

of

of improving his patrimony, purpoſes in time to plant an orchard; which, if it be ſheltered by a wall, may perhaps ſucceed. He has introduced the culture of turnips, of which he has a field, where the whole work was performed by his own hand. His intention is to provide food for his cattle in the winter. This innovation was conſidered by Mr. *Mackſweyn* as the idle project of a young head, heated with *Engliſh* fancies; but he has now found that turnips will really grow, and that hungry ſheep and cows will really eat them.

By ſuch acquiſitions as theſe, the *Hebrides* may in time riſe above their annual diſtreſs. Wherever heath will grow, there is reaſon to think ſomething better may draw nouriſhment; and by trying the production of other places, plants will be found ſuitable to every ſoil.

Col has many lochs, ſome of which have trouts and eels, and others have never yet been

been ſtocked; another proof of the negligence of the Iſlanders, who might take fiſh in the inland waters, when they cannot go to ſea.

Their quadrupeds are horſes, cows, ſheep, and goats. They have neither deer, hares, nor rabbits. They have no vermin, except rats, which have been lately brought thither by ſea, as to other places; and are free from ſerpents, frogs, and toads.

The harveſt in *Col*, and in *Lewis*, is ripe ſooner than in *Sky*; and the winter in *Col* is never cold, but very tempeſtuous. I know not that I ever heard the wind ſo loud in any other place; and Mr. *Boſwell* obſerved, that its noiſe was all its own, for there were no trees to increaſe it.

Noiſe is not the worſt effect of the tempeſts; for they have thrown the ſand from

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the ſhore over a conſiderable part of the land; and it is ſaid ſtill to encroach and deſtroy more and more paſture; but I am not of opinion, that by any ſurveys or land-marks, its limits have been ever fixed, or its progreſſion aſcertained. If one man has confidence enough to ſay, that it advances, nobody can bring any proof to ſupport him in denying it. The reaſon why it is not ſpread to a greater extent, ſeems to be, that the wind and rain come almoſt together, and that it is made cloſe and heavy by the wet before the ſtorms can put it in motion. So thick is the bed, and ſo ſmall the particles, that if a traveller ſhould be caught by a ſudden guſt in dry weather, he would find it very difficult to eſcape with life.

For natural curioſities, I was ſhown only two great maſſes of ſtone which lie looſe upon the ground; one on the top of a hill, and the other at a ſmall diſtance from the bottom. They certainly were never put into their

their preſent places by human ſtrength or ſkill; and though an earthquake might have broken off the lower ſtone, and rolled it into the valley, no account can be given of the other, which lies on the hill, unleſs, which I forgot to examine, there be ſtill near it ſome higher rock, from which it might be torn. All nations have a tradition, that their earlieſt anceſtors were giants, and theſe ſtones are ſaid to have been thrown up and down by a giant and his miſtreſs. There are ſo many more important things, of which human knowledge can give no account, that it may be forgiven us, if we ſpeculate no longer on two ſtones in *Col*.

This Iſland is very populous. About nine-and twenty years ago, the fencible men of *Col* were reckoned one hundred and forty, which is the ſixth of eight hundred and forty; and probably ſome contrived to be left out of the liſt. The Miniſter told us,

that a few years ago the inhabitants were eight hundred, between the ages of ſeven and of ſeventy. Round numbers are ſeldom exact. But in this caſe the authority is good, and the errour likely to be little. If to the eight hundred be added what the laws of computation require, they will be increaſed to at leaſt a thouſand; and if the dimenſions of the country have been accurately related, every mile maintains more than twenty-five.

This proportion of habitation is greater than the appearance of the country ſeems to admit; for wherever the eye wanders, it ſees much waſte and little cultivation. I am more inclined to extend the land, of which no meaſure has ever been taken, than to diminiſh the people, who have been really numbered. Let it be ſuppoſed, that a computed mile contains a mile and a half, as was commonly found true in the menſuration of the *Engliſh* roads, and we ſhall then

then allot nearly twelve to a mile, which agrees much better with ocular obſervation.

Here, as in *Sky* and other Iſlands, are the Laird, the Tackſmen, and the under tenants.

Mr. *Maclean*, the Laird, has very extenſive poſſeſſions, being proprietor, not only of far the greater part of *Col*, but of the extenſive Iſland of *Rum*, and a very conſiderable territory in *Mull*.

Rum is one of the larger Iſlands, almoſt ſquare, and therefore of great capacity in proportion to its ſides. By the uſual method of eſtimating computed extent, it may contain more than a hundred and twenty ſquare miles.

It originally belonged to *Clanronald*, and was purchaſed by *Col*; who, in ſome diſ-

pute about the bargain, made *Clanronald* priſoner, and kept him nine months in confinement. Its owner repreſents it as mountainous, rugged, and barren. In the hills there are red deer. The horſes are very ſmall, but of a breed eminent for beauty. *Col*, not long ago, bought one of them from a tenant; who told him, that as he was of a ſhape uncommonly elegant, he could not ſell him but at a high price; and that whoever had him ſhould pay a guinea and a half.

There are ſaid to be in *Barra* a race of horſes yet ſmaller, of which the higheſt is not above thirty-ſix inches.

The rent of *Rum* is not great. Mr. *Maclean* declared, that he ſhould be very rich, if he could ſet his land at two-pence halfpenny an acre. The inhabitants are fifty eight families, who continued Papiſts for ſome time after the Laird became a Proteſtant.

teſtant. Their adherence to their old religion was ſtrengthened by the countenance of the Laird's ſiſter, a zealous Romaniſt, till one Sunday, as they were going to maſs under the conduct of their patroneſs, *Maclean* met them on the way, gave one of them a blow on the head with a *yellow ſtick*, I ſuppoſe a cane, for which the *Earſe* had no name, and drove them to the kirk, from which they have never ſince departed. Since the uſe of this method of converſion, the inhabitants of *Egg* and *Canna*, who continue Papiſts, call the Proteſtantiſm of *Rum*, the religion of the *Yellow Stick*.

The only Popiſh Iſlands are *Egg* and *Canna*. *Egg* is the principal Iſland of a pariſh, in which, though he has no congregation, the Proteſtant Miniſter reſides. I have heard of nothing curious in it, but the cave in which a former generation of the Iſlanders were ſmothered by *Macleod*.

If we had travelled with more leiſure, it had not been fit to have neglected the Popiſh Iſlands. Popery is favourable to ceremony; and among ignorant nations, ceremony is the only preſervative of tradition. Since Proteſtantiſm was extended to the ſavage parts of Scotland, it has perhaps been one of the chief labours of the Miniſters to aboliſh ſtated obſervances, becauſe they continued the remembrance of the former religion. We therefore who came to hear old traditions, and ſee antiquated manners, ſhould probably have found them amongſt the Papiſts.

Canna, the other Popiſh Iſland, belongs to *Clanronald*. It is ſaid not to compriſe more than twelve miles of land, and yet maintains as many inhabitants as *Rum*.

We were at *Col* under the protection of the young Laird, without any of the diſtreſſes, which Mr. *Pennant*, in a fit of ſimple

ple credulity, ſeems to think almoſt worthy of an elegy by Oſſian. Wherever we roved, we were pleaſed to ſee the reverence with which his ſubjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dreſs: his only diſtinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as ſoon as he appeared, they forſook their work and cluſtered about him: he took them by the hand, and they ſeemed mutually delighted. He has the proper diſpoſition of a Chieftain, and ſeems deſirous to continue the cuſtoms of his houſe. The bagpiper played regularly, when dinner was ſerved, whoſe perſon and dreſs made a good appearance; and he brought no diſgrace upon the family of *Rankin*, which has long ſupplied the Lairds of *Col* with hereditary muſick.

The Tackſmen of *Col* ſeem to live with leſs dignity and convenience than thoſe of *Sky*; where they had good houſes, and tables not only plentiful, but delicate. In

Col only two houſes pay the window tax, for only two have ſix windows, which I ſuppoſe, are the laird's and Mr. *Macſweyn*'s.

The rents have, till within ſeven years, been paid in kind, but the tenants finding that cattle and corn varied in their price, deſired for the future to give their landlord money; which not having yet arrived at the philoſophy of commerce, they conſider as being every year of the ſame value.

We are told of a particular mode of under-tenure. The Tackſman admits ſome of his inferiour neighbours to the cultition of his grounds, on condition that performing all the work, and giving a third part of the ſeed, they ſhall keep a certain number of cows, ſheep, and goats, and reap a third part of the harveſt. Thus by leſs than the tillage of two acres they pay the rent of one.

There

There are tenants below the rank of Tackſmen, that have got ſmaller tenants under them; for in every place, where money is not the general equivalent, there muſt be ſome whoſe labour is immediately paid by daily food.

A country that has no money, is by no means convenient for beggars, both becauſe ſuch countries are commonly poor, and becauſe charity requires ſome trouble and ſome thought. A penny is eaſily given upon the firſt impulſe of compaſſion, or impatience of importunity; but few will deliberately ſearch their cupboards or their granaries to find out ſomething to give. A penny is likewiſe eaſily ſpent; but victuals, if they are unprepared require houſe-room, and fire, and utenſils, which the beggar knows not where to find.

Yet beggars there ſometimes are, who wander from Iſland to Iſland. We had,

in

in our paſſage to *Mull*, the company of a woman and her child, who had exhauſted the charity of *Col*. The arrival of a beggar on an Iſland is accounted a ſiniſtrous event. Every body conſiders that he ſhall have the leſs for what he gives away. Their alms, I believe, is generally oatmeal.

Near to *Col* is another Iſland called *Tiree*, eminent for its fertility. Though it has but half the extent of *Rum*, it is ſo well peopled, that there have appeared not long ago, nine hundred and fourteen at a funeral. The plenty of this Iſland enticed beggars to it, who ſeemed ſo burdenſome to the inhabitants that a formal compact was drawn up, by which they obliged themſelves to grant no more relief to caſual wanderers, becauſe they had among them an indigent woman of high birth, whom they conſidered as intitled to all that they could ſpare. I have read the ſtipulation, which

which was indited with juridical formality, but was never made valid by regular ſubſcription.

If the inhabitants of *Col* have nothing to give, it is not that they are oppreſſed by their landlord: their leaſes ſeem to be very profitable. One farmer, who pays only ſeven pounds a year, has maintained ſeven daughters and three ſons, of whom the eldeſt is educated at *Aberdeen* for the miniſtry; and now, at every vacation, opens a ſchool in *Col*.

Life is here, in ſome reſpects, improved beyond the condition of ſome other Iſlands. In *Sky* what is wanted can only be bought, as the arrival of ſome wandring pedlar may afford an opportunity; but in *Col* there is a ſtanding ſhop, and in *Mull* there are two. A ſhop in the Iſlands, as in other places of little frequentation, is a repoſitory of every thing requiſite for common uſe. Mr.

Boſwell's

Boſwell's journal was filled, and he bought ſome paper in *Col*. To a man that ranges the ſtreets of *London*, where he is tempted to contrive wants for the pleaſure of ſupplying them, a ſhop affords no image worthy of attention; but in an Iſland, it turns the ballance of exiſtence between good and evil. To live in perpetual want of little things, is a ſtate not indeed of torture, but of conſtant vexation. I have in *Sky* had ſome difficulty to find ink for a letter; and if a woman breaks her needle, the work is at a ſtop.

As it is, the Iſlanders are obliged to content themſelves with ſuccedaneous means for many common purpoſes. I have ſeen the chief man of every wide diſtrict riding with a halter for a bridle, and governing his hobby with a wooden curb.

The people of *Col*, however, do not want dexterity to ſupply ſome of their neceſſities.

neceſſities. Several arts which make trades and demand apprenticeſhips in great cities, are here the practices of daily economy. In every houſe candles are made, both moulded and dipped. Their wicks are ſmall ſhreds of linen cloth. They all know how to extract from the Cuddy, oil for their lamps. They all tan ſkins, and make brogues.

As we travelled through *Sky*, we ſaw many cottages, but they very frequently ſtood ſingle on the naked ground. In *Col*, where the hills opened a place convenient for habitation, we found a petty village, of which every hut had a little garden adjoining; thus they made an appearance of ſocial commerce and mutual offices, and of ſome attention to convenience and further ſupply. There is not in the *Weſtern Iſlands* any collection of buildings that can make pretenſions, to be called a town, except in the Iſle of *Lewis*, which I have not ſeen.

If *Lewis* is diſtinguiſhed by a town, *Col* has alſo ſomething peculiar. The young Laird has attempted what no Iſlander perhaps ever thought on. He has begun a a road capable of a wheel-carriage. He has carried it about a mile, and will continue it by annual elongation from his houſe to the harbour.

Of taxes here is no reaſon for complaining; they are paid by a very eaſy compoſition. The *Malt-tax* for *Col* is twenty ſhillings. Whiſky is very plentiful: there are ſeveral ſtills in the Iſland, and more is made than the inhabitants conſume.

The great buſineſs of inſular policy is how to keep the people in their own country. As the world has been let in upon them, they have heard of happier climates, and leſs arbitrary government; and if they are diſguſted, have emiſſaries among them ready to offer them land and houſes, as a reward

reward for deſerting their Chief and clan. Many have departed both from the main of *Scotland*, and from the Iſlands; and all that go may be conſidered as ſubjects loſt to the *Britiſh* crown; for a nation ſcattered in the boundleſs regions of *America* reſembles rays diverging from a focus. All the rays remain, but the heat is gone. Their power conſiſted in their concentration: when they are diſperſed, they have no effect.

It may be thought that they are happier by the change; but they are not happy as a nation, for they are a nation no longer. As they contribute not to the proſperity of any community, they muſt want that ſecurity, that dignity, that happineſs, whatever it be, which a proſperous community throws back upon individuals.

The inhabitants of *Col* have not yet learned to be weary of their heath and rocks,

rocks, but attend their agriculture and their dairies, without liſtening to American ſeducements.

There are ſome however who think that this emigration has raiſed terrour diſproportionate to its real evil; and that it is only a new mode of doing what was always done. The Highlands, they ſay, never maintained their natural inhabitants; but the people, when they found themſelves too numerous, inſtead of extending cultivation, provided for themſelves by a more compendious method, and ſought better fortune in other countries. They did not indeed go away in collective bodies, but withdrew inviſibly, a few at a time; but the whole number of fugitives was not leſs, and the difference between other times and this, is only the ſame as between evaporation and effuſion.

This is plauſible, but I am afraid it is not true. Thoſe who went before, if they were

were not ſenſibly miſſed, as the argument ſuppoſes, muſt have gone either in leſs number, or in a manner leſs detrimental, than at preſent; becauſe formerly there was no complaint. Thoſe who then left the country were generally the idle dependants on overburdened families, or men who had no property; and therefore carried away only themſelves. In the preſent eagerneſs of emigration, families, and almoſt communities go away together. Thoſe who were conſidered as proſperous and wealthy ſell their ſtock and carry away the money. Once none went away but the uſeleſs and poor; in ſome parts there is now reaſon to fear, that none will ſtay but thoſe who are too poor to remove themſelves and too uſeleſs to be removed at the coſt of others.

Of antiquity there is not more knowledge in *Col* than in other places; but every where ſomething may be gleaned.

How

How ladies were portioned, when there was no money, it would be difficult for an *Engliſhman* to gueſs. In 1649, *Maclean* of *Dronart* in *Mull* married his ſiſter *Fingala* to *Maclean* of *Coll*, with a hundred and eighty kine; and ſtipulated, that if ſhe became a widow, her jointure ſhould be three hundred and ſixty. I ſuppoſe ſome proportionate tract of land was appropriated to their paſturage.

The diſpoſition to pompous and expenſive funerals, which has at one time or other prevailed in moſt parts of the civilized world, is not yet ſuppreſſed in the Iſlands, though ſome of the ancient ſolemnities are worn away, and ſingers are no longer hired to attend the proceſſion. Nineteen years ago, at the burial of the Laird of *Col*, were killed thirty cows, and about fifty ſheep. The number of the cows is poſitively told, and we muſt ſuppoſe other victuals in like proportion.

Mr.

Mr. *Maclean* informed us of an odd game, of which he did not tell the original, but which may perhaps be uſed in other places, where the reaſon of it is not yet forgot. At New-year's eve, in the hall or caſtle of the Laird, where, at feſtal ſeaſons, there may be ſuppoſed a very numerous company, one man dreſſes himſelf in a cow's hide, upon which other men beat with ſticks. He runs with all this noiſe round the houſe, which all the company quits in a counterfeited fright: the door is then ſhut. At New-year's eve there is no great pleaſure to be had out of doors in the *Hebrides*. They are ſure ſoon to recover from their terrour enough to ſolicit for re-admiſſion; which for the honour of poetry, is not to be obtained but by repeating a verſe, with which thoſe that are knowing and provident take care to be furniſhed.

Very

Very near the houſe of *Maclean* ſtands the caſtle of *Col*, which was the manſion of the Laird, till the houſe was built. It is built upon a rock, as Mr. *Boſwell* remarked, that it might not be mined. It is very ſtrong, and having been not long uninhabited, is yet in repair. On the wall was, not long ago, a ſtone with an inſcription, importing, that *if any man of the clan of Maclonich ſhall appear before this caſtle, though he come at midnight, with a man's head in his hand, he ſhall there find ſafety and protection againſt all but the King.*

This is an old Highland treaty made upon a very memorable occaſion. *Maclean*, the ſon of *John Gerves*, who recovered *Col*, and conquered *Barra*, had obtained, it is ſaid, from *James* the Second, a grant of the lands of *Lochiel*, forfeited, I ſuppoſe, by ſome offence againſt the ſtate.

Forſeited

Forfeited eſtates were not in thoſe days quietly reſigned; *Maclean*, therefore, went with an armed force to ſeize his new poſſeſſions, and, I know not for what reaſon, took his wife with him. The *Camerons* roſe in defence of their Chief, and a battle was fought at the head of *Loch Neſs*, near the place where *Fort Auguſtus* now ſtands, in which *Lochiel* obtained the victory, and *Maclean*, with his followers, was defeated and deſtroyed.

The lady fell into the hands of the conquerours, and being found pregnant was placed in the cuſtody of *Maclonich*, one of a tribe or family branched from *Cameron*, with orders, if ſhe brought a boy to deſtroy him, if a girl, to ſpare her.

Maclonich's wife, who was with child likewiſe, had a girl about the ſame time at which lady *Maclean* brought a boy, and *Maclonich* with more generoſity to his captive,

tive, than fidelity to his truſt, contrived that the children ſhould be changed.

Maclean being thus preſerved from death in time recovered his original patrimony; and in gratitude to his friend, made his caſtle a place of refuge to any of the clan that ſhould think himſelf in danger; and as a proof of reciprocal confidence, *Maclean* took upon himſelf and his poſterity the care of educating the heir of *Maclonich*.

This ſtory, like all other traditions of the Highlands, is variouſly related, but though ſome circumſtances are uncertain, the principal fact is true. *Maclean* undoubtedly owed his preſervation to *Maclonich*; for the treaty between the two families has been ſtrictly obſerved: it did not ſink into diſuſe and oblivion, but continued in its full force while the chieftains retained their power. I have read a demand of protection, made not more than thirty-ſeven years

years ago, for one of the *Maclonichs*, named *Ewen Cameron*, who had been acceſſary to the death of *Macmartin*, and had been baniſhed by *Lochiel*, his lord, for a certain term; at the expiration of which he returned married from *France*, but the *Macmartins*, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment, when he attempted to ſettle, ſtill threatened him with vengeance. He therefore aſked, and obtained ſhelter in the Iſle of *Col*.

The power of protection ſubſiſts no longer, but what the law permits is yet continued, and *Maclean* of *Col* now educates the heir of *Maclonich*.

There ſtill remains in the Iſlands, though it is paſſing faſt away, the cuſtom of foſterage. A Laird, a man of wealth and eminence, ſends his child, either male or female, to a tackſman, or tenant, to be foſtered. It is not always his own tenant, but

diſtant friend that obtains this honour; for an honour ſuch a truſt is very reaſonably thought. The terms of foſterage ſeem to vary in different iſlands. In *Mull* the father ſends with his child a certain number of cows, to which the ſame number is added by the foſterer. The father appropriates a proportionable extent of ground, without rent, for their paſturage. If every cow brings a calf, half belongs to the foſterer, and half to the child; but if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's, and when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given, both by the father and by the foſterer, with half of the increaſe of the ſtock by propagation. Theſe beaſts are conſidered as a portion, and called *Macalive* cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is ſuppoſed not to have the full property, but to owe the ſame number to the child, as a portion to the daughter, or a ſtock for the ſon.

Children

Children continue with the foſterer perhaps ſix years, and cannot, where this is the practice, be conſidered as burdenſome. The foſterer, if he gives four cows, receives likewiſe four, and has, while the child continues with him, graſs for eight without rent, with half the calves, and all the milk, for which he pays only four cows when he diſmiſſes his *Dalt*, for that is the name for a foſter child.

Foſterage is, I believe, ſometimes performed upon more liberal terms. Our friend, the young Laird of *Col*, was foſtered by *Macſweyn* of *Griſſipol*. *Macſweyn* then lived a tenant to Sir *James Macdonald* in the Iſle of *Sky*; and therefore *Col*, whether he ſent him cattle or not, could grant him no land. The *Dalt*, however, at his return, brought back a conſiderable number of *Macalive cattle*, and of the friendſhip ſo formed there have been good effects. When *Macdonald* raiſed his

rents, *Macſweyn* was, like other tenants, diſcontented, and reſigning his farm, removed from *Sky* to *Col*, and was eſtabliſhed at *Griſſipol*.

Theſe obſervations we made by favour of the contrary wind that drove us to *Col*, an Iſland not often viſited; for there is not much to amuſe curioſity, or attract avarice.

The ground has been hitherto, I believe, uſed chiefly for paſturage. In a diſtrict ſuch as the eye can command, there is a general herdſman, who knows all the cattle of the neighbourhood, and whoſe ſtation is upon a hill, from which he ſurveys the lower grounds; and if one man's cattle invade another's graſs, drives them back to their own borders. But other means of profit begin to be found; kelp is gathered and burnt, and ſloops are loaded with the concreted aſhes. Cultivation is likely to be improved by the ſkill and encouragement

couragement of the preſent heir, and the inhabitants of thoſe obſcure vallies will partake of the general progreſs of life.

The rents of the parts which belong to the Duke of Argyle, have been raiſed from fifty-five to one hundred and five pounds, whether from the land or the ſea I cannot tell. The bounties of the ſea have lately been ſo great, that a farm in Southuiſt has riſen in ten years from a rent of thirty pounds to one hundred and eighty.

He who lives in *Col*, and finds himſelf condemned to ſolitary meals, and incommunicable reflection, will find the uſefulneſs of that middle order of Tackſmen, which ſome who applaud their own wiſdom are wiſhing to deſtroy. Without intelligence man is not ſocial, he is only gregarious; and little intelligence will there be, where all are conſtrained to daily labour, and every mind muſt wait upon the hand.

After having liſtened for ſome days to the tempeſt, and wandered about the Iſland till our curioſity was ſatisfied, we began to think about our departure. To leave *Col* in October was not very eaſy. We however found a ſloop which lay on the coaſt to carry kelp; and for a price which we thought levied upon our neceſſities, the maſter agreed to carry us to *Mull*, whence we might readily paſs back to *Scotland*.

M U L L.

As we were to catch the firſt favourable breath, we ſpent the night not very elegantly, nor pleaſantly in the veſſel, and were landed next day at *Tolor Morar*, a port in *Mull*, which appears to an unexperienced eye formed for the ſecurity of ſhips; for its mouth is cloſed by a ſmall iſland which admits them through narrow channels into a baſon ſufficiently capacious. They are indeed ſafe from the ſea, but there

there is a hollow between the mountains, through which the wind iſſues from the land with very miſchievous violence.

There was no danger while we were there, and we found ſeveral other veſſels at anchor; ſo that the port had a very commercial appearance.

The young Laird of *Col*, who had determined not to let us loſe his company while there was any difficulty remaining, came over with us. His influence ſoon appeared; for he procured us horſes, and conducted us to the houſe of Doctor *Maclean*, where we found very kind entertainment, and very pleaſing converſation. Miſs *Maclean*, who was born, and had been bred at *Glaſgow*, having removed with her father to *Mull*, added to other qualifications, a great knowledge of the *Earſe* language, which ſhe had not learned in her childhood, but gained by ſtudy, and

was the only interpreter of *Earſe* poetry that I could ever find.

The Iſle of *Mull* is perhaps in extent the third of the *Hebrides*. It is not broken by waters, nor ſhot into promontories, but is a ſolid and compact maſs, of breadth nearly equal to its length. Of the dimenſions of the larger Iſlands, there is no knowledge approaching to exactneſs. I am willing to eſtimate it as containing about three hundred ſquare miles.

Mull had ſuffered like *Sky* by the black winter of ſeventy-one, in which, contrary to all experience, a continued froſt detained the ſnow eight weeks upon the ground. Againſt a calamity never known, no proviſion had been made, and the people could only pine in helpleſs miſery. One tenant was mentioned, whoſe cattle periſhed to the value of three hundred pounds; a loſs which probably more than the life of man

is

is neceſſary to repair. In countries like theſe, the deſcriptions of famine become intelligible. Where by vigorous and artful cultivation of a ſoil naturally fertile, there is commonly a ſuperfluous growth both of grain and graſs; where the fields are crowded with cattle; and where every hand is able to attract wealth from a diſtance, by making ſomething that promotes eaſe, or gratifies vanity, a dear year produces only a comparative want, which is rather ſeen than felt, and which terminates commonly in no worſe effect, than that of condemning the lower orders of the community to ſacrifice a little luxury to convenience, or at moſt a little convenience to neceſſity.

But where the climate is unkind, and the ground penurious, ſo that the moſt fruitful years will produce only enough to maintain themſelves; where life unimproved, and unadorned, fades into ſomething little

more than naked exiſtence, and every one is buſy for himſelf, without any arts by which the pleaſures of others may be increaſed; if to the daily burthen of diſtreſs any additional weight be added, nothing remains but to deſpair and die. In *Mull* the diſappointment of a harveſt, or a murrain among the cattle, cuts off the regular proviſion; and they who have no manufactures can purchaſe no part of the ſuperfluites of other countries. The conſequence of a bad ſeaſon is here not ſcarcity, but emptineſs; and they whoſe plenty was barely a ſupply of natural and preſent need, when that ſlender ſtock fails, muſt periſh with hunger.

All travel has its advantages. If the paſſenger viſits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worſe, he may learn to enjoy it.

Mr. *Boſwell*'s curioſity ſtrongly impelled him to ſurvey *Jona*, or *Icolmkil*, which was

to

to the early ages of the great ſchool of Theology, and is ſuppoſed to have been the place of ſepulture for the antient kings. I, though leſs eager, did not oppoſe him.

That we might perform this expedition, it was neceſſary to traverſe a great part of *Mull*. We paſſed a day at Dr. *Maclean*'s, and could have been well contented to ſtay longer. But *Col* provided us horſes, and we purſued our journey. This was a day of inconvenience, for the country is very rough, and my horſe was but little. We travelled many hours through a tract, black and barren, in which, however, there were the reliques of humanity; for we found a ruined chapel in our way.

It is natural, in traverſing this gloom of deſolation, to inquire, whether ſomething may not be done to give nature a more cheerful face, and whether thoſe hills and moors that afford heath cannot with a little

care

care and labour bear ſomething better? The firſt thought that occurs is to cover them with trees, for that in many of theſe naked regions trees will grow, is evident, becauſe ſtumps and roots are yet remaining; and the ſpeculatiſt haſtily proceeds to cenſure that negligence and lazineſs that has omitted for ſo long a time ſo eaſy an improvement.

To drop ſeeds into the ground, and attend their growth, requires little labour, and no ſkill. He who remembers that all the woods, by which the wants of man have been ſupplied from the Deluge till now, were ſelf-ſown, will not eaſily be perſuaded to think all the art and preparation neceſſary, which the Georgick writers preſcribe to planters. Trees certainly have covered the earth with very little culture. They wave their tops among the rocks of *Norway*, and might thrive as well in the Highlands and *Hebrides*.

But

But there is a frightful interval between the ſeed and timber. He that calculates the growth of trees, has the unwelcome remembrance of the ſhortneſs of life driven hard upon him. He knows that he is doing what will never benefit himſelf; and when he rejoices to ſee the ſtem riſe, is diſpoſed to repine that another ſhall cut it down.

Plantation is naturally the employment of a mind unburdened with care, and vacant to futurity, ſaturated with preſent good, and at leiſure to derive gratification from the proſpect of poſterity. He that pines with hunger, is in little care how others ſhall be fed. The poor man is ſeldom ſtudious to make his grandſon rich. It may be ſoon diſcovered, why in a place, which hardly ſupplies the cravings of neceſſity, there has been little attention to the delights of fancy, and why diſtant convenience is unregarded, where the thoughts

are turned with inceſſant ſolicitude upon every poſſibility of immediate advantage.

Neither is it quite ſo eaſy to raiſe large woods as may be conceived. Trees intended to produce timber muſt be ſown where they are to grow; and ground ſown with trees muſt be kept uſeleſs for a long time, incloſed at an expence from which many will be diſcouraged by the remoteneſs of the profit, and watched with that attention, which in places where it is moſt needed, will neither be given nor bought. That it cannot be plowed is evident; and if cattle be ſuffered to graze upon it, they will devour the plants as faſt as they riſe. Even in coarſer countries, where herds and flocks are not fed, not only the deer and the wild goats will browſe upon them, but the hare and rabbit will nibble them. It is therefore reaſonable to believe, what I do not remember any naturaliſt to have remarked, that there was a time when the world was very

very thinly inhabited by beaſts, as well as men, and that the woods had leiſure to riſe high before animals had bred numbers ſufficient to intercept them.

Sir *James Macdonald*, in part of the waſtes of his territory, ſet or ſowed trees, to the number, as I have been told, of ſeveral millions, expecting, doubtleſs, that they would grow up into future navies and cities; but for want of incloſure, and of that care which is always neceſſary, and will hardly ever be taken, all his coſt and labour have been loſt, and the ground is likely to continue a uſeleſs heath.

Having not any experience of a journey in *Mull*, we had no doubt of reaching the ſea by day-light, and therefore had not left Dr. *Maclean*'s very early. We travelled diligently enough, but found the country, for road there was none, very difficult to paſs. We were always ſtruggling with ſome

ſome obſtruction or other, and our vexation was not balanced by any gratification, of the eye or mind. We were now long enough acquainted with hills and heath to have loſt the emotion that they once raiſed, whether pleaſing or painful, and had our mind employed only on our own fatigue. We were however ſure, under *Col*'s protection, of eſcaping all real evils. There was no houſe in *Mull* to which he could not introduce us. He had intended to lodge us, for that night, with a gentleman that lived upon the coaſt, but diſcovered on the way, that he then lay in bed without hope of life.

We reſolved not to embarraſs a family, in a time of ſo much ſorrow, if any other expedient could be found, and as the Iſland of *Ulva* was over-againſt us, it was determined that we ſhould paſs the ſtrait and have recourſe to the Laird, who, like the other gentlemen of the Iſlands, was known

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to *Col*. We expected to find a ferry-boat, but when at laſt we came to the water, the boat was gone.

We were now again at a ſtop. It was the ſixteenth of October, a time when it is not convenient to ſleep in the *Hebrides* without a cover, and there was no houſe within our reach, but that which we had already declined.

ULVA.

While we ſtood deliberating, we were happily eſpied from an *Iriſh* ſhip, that lay at anchor in the ſtrait. The maſter ſaw that we wanted a paſſage, and with great civility ſent us his boat, which quickly conveyed us to *Ulva*, where we were very liberally entertained by Mr *Macquarry*.

To *Ulva* we came in the dark, and left it before noon the next day. A very exact deſcription

deſcription therefore will not be expected. We are told, that it is an Iſland of no great extent, rough and barren, inhabited by the *Macquarry*'s; a clan not powerful nor numerous, but of antiquity, which moſt other families are content to reverence. The name is ſuppoſed to be a depravation of ſome other; for the *Earſe* language does not afford it any etymology. *Macquarry* is proprietor both of *Ulva* and ſome adjacent Iſlands, among which is *Staffa*, ſo lately raiſed to renown by Mr. *Banks*.

When the Iſlanders were reproached with their ignorance or inſenſibility of the wonders of *Staffa*, they had not much to reply. They had indeed conſidered little, becauſe they had always ſeen it; and none but philoſophers, nor they always, are ſtruck with wonder, otherwiſe than by novelty. How would it ſurpriſe an unenlightened ploughman, to hear a company of

of ſober men, inquiring by what power the hand toſſes a ſtone, or why the ſtone, when it is toſſed, falls to the ground!

Of the anceſtors of *Macquarry*, who thus lies hid in his unfrequented Iſland, I have found memorials in all places where they could be expected.

Inquiring after the reliques of former manners, I found that in *Ulva*, and, I think, no where elſe, is continued the payment of the *Mercheta Mulierum*; a fine in old times due to the Laird at the marriage of a virgin. The original of this claim, as of our tenure of *Borough Engliſh*, is variouſly delivered. It is pleaſant to find ancient cuſtoms in old families. This payment, like others, was for want of money, made antiently in the produce of land. *Macquarry* was uſed to demand a ſheep, for which he now takes a crown, by that inatention to the uncertain proportion be-

tween

tween the value and the denomination of money, which has brought much diſorder into *Europe*. A ſheep has always the ſame power of ſupplying human wants, but a crown will bring at one time more, at another leſs.

Ulva was not neglected by the piety of antient times: it has ſtill to ſhow what was once a church.

INCH KENNETH.

In the morning we went again into the boat, and were landed on *Inch Kenneth*, an Iſland about a mile long, and perhaps half a mile broad, remarkable for pleaſantneſs and fertility. It is verdant and graſſy, and fit both for paſture and tillage; but it has no trees. Its only inhabitants were Sir *Allan Maclean*, and two young ladies, his daughters, with their ſervants.

Romance

Romance does not often exhibit a ſcene that ſtrikes the imagination more than this little deſart in theſe depths of Weſtern obſcurity, occupied not by a groſs herdſman, or amphibious fiſherman, but by a gentleman and two ladies of high birth, poliſhed manners, and elegant converſation, who, in a habitation raiſed not very far above the ground, but furniſhed with unexpected neatneſs and convenience, practiſed all the kindneſs of hoſpitality, and refinement of courteſy.

Sir *Allan* is the Chieftain of the great clan of *Maclean*, which is ſaid to claim the ſecond place among the Highland families, yielding only to *Macdonald*. Though by the miſconduct of his anceſtors, moſt of the extenſive territory, which would have deſcended to him, has been alienated, he ſtill retains much of the dignity and authority of his birth. When ſoldiers were lately wanting for the *American* war, application

was

was made to Sir *Allan*, and he nominated a hundred men for the ſervice, who obeyed the ſummons, and bore arms under his command.

He had then, for ſome time, reſided with the young ladies in *Inch Kenneth*, where he lives not only with plenty, but with elegance, having conveyed to his cottage a collection of books, and what elſe is neceſſary to make his hours pleaſant.

When we landed, we were met by Sir *Allan* and the Ladies, accompanied by Miſs *Macquarry* who had paſſed ſome time with them, and now returned to *Ulva* with her father.

We all walked together to the manſion, where we found one cottage for Sir *Allan*, and I think two more for the domeſticks and the offices. We entered and wanted little that palaces afford. Our room was neatly

neatly floored, and well lighted; and our dinner, which was dreſſed in one of the other huts, was plentiful and delicate.

In the afternoon Sir *Allan* reminded us, that the day was Sunday, which he never ſuffered to paſs without ſome religious diſtinction, and invited us to partake in his acts of domeſtick worſhip; which I hope neither Mr. *Boſwell* nor myſelf will be ſuſpected of a diſpoſition to refuſe. The elder of the Ladies read the *Engliſh* ſervice.

Inch Kenneth was once a ſeminary, of eccleſiaſticks, ſubordinate, I ſuppoſe, to *Icolmkil*. Sir *Allan* had a mind to trace the foundation of the college, but neither I nor Mr. *Boſwell*, who *bends* a keener *eye on vacancy*, were able to perceive them.

Our attention, however, was ſufficiently engaged by a venerable chapel, which ſtands yet entire, except that the roof is gone.

gone. It is about ſixty feet in length, and thirty in breadth. On one ſide of the altar is a bas relief of the bleſſed Virgin, and by it lies a little bell; which though cracked, and without a clapper, has remained there for ages, guarded only by the veneraleneſs of the place. The ground round the chapel is covered with grave-ſtones of Chiefs and ladies; and ſtill continues to be a place of ſepulture.

Inch Kenneth is a proper prelude to *Icolmkill*. It was not without ſome mournful emotion that we contemplated the ruins of religious ſtructures, and the monuments of the dead.

On the next day we took a more diſtinct view of the place, and went with the boat to ſee oyſters in the bed, out of which the boat-men forced up as many as were wanted. Even *Inch Kenneth* has a ſubordinate Iſland, named *Sandiland*, I ſuppoſe, in

in contempt, where we landed, and found a rock, with a ſurface of perhaps four acres, of which one is naked ſtone, another ſpread with ſand and ſhells, ſome of which I picked up for their gloſſy beauty, and two covered with a little earth and graſs, on which Sir *Allan* has a few ſheep. I doubt not but when there was a college at *Inch Kenneth*, there was a hermitage upon *Sandiland*.

Having wandered over theſe extenſive plains, we committed ourſelves again to the winds and waters; and after a voyage of about ten minutes, in which we met with nothing very obſervable, were again ſafe upon dry ground.

We told Sir *Allan* our deſire of viſiting *Icolmkill*, and entreated him to give us his protection and his company. He thought proper to heſitate a little, but the Ladies hinted, that as they knew he would not

finally refuſe, he would do better if he preſerved the grace of ready compliance. He took their advice, and promiſed to carry us on the morrow in his boat.

We paſſed the remaining part of the day in ſuch amuſements as were in our power. Sir *Allan* related the *American* campaign, and at evening one of the Ladies played on her harpſichord, while *Col* and Mr. *Boſwell* danced a *Scottiſh* reel with the other.

We could have been eaſily perſuaded to a longer ſtay upon *Inch Kenneth*, but life will not be all paſſed in delight. The ſeſſion of *Edinburgh* was approaching, from which Mr. *Boſwell* could not be abſent.

In the morning our boat was ready: it was high and ſtrong. Sir *Allan* victualled it for that day, and provided able rowers. We now parted from the young Laird of *Col*, who had treated us with ſo much kindneſs,

neſs, and concluded his favours by conſigning us to Sir *Allan*. Here we had the laſt embrace of this amiable man, who, while theſe pages were preparing to atteſt his virtues, periſhed in the paſſage between *Ulva* and *Inch Kenneth*.

Sir *Allan*, to whom the whole region was well known, told us of a very remarkable cave, to which he would ſhow us the way. We had been diſappointed already by one cave, and were not much elevated by the expectation of another.

It was yet better to ſee it, and we ſtopped at ſome rocks on the coaſt of *Mull*. The mouth is fortified by vaſt fragments of ſtone, over which we made our way, neither very nimbly, nor very ſecurely. The place, however, well repaid our trouble. The bottom, as far as the flood ruſhes in, was encumbered with large pebbles, but as

we advanced was ſpread over with ſmooth ſand The breadth is about forty-five feet: the roof riſes in an arch almoſt regular, to height which we could not meaſure; but I think it about thirty feet.

This part of our curioſity was nearly fruſtrated; for though we went to ſee a cave, and knew that caves are dark, we forgot to carry tapers, and did not diſcover our omiſſion till we were wakened by our wants. Sir *Allan* then ſent one of the boatmen into the country, who ſoon returned with one little candle. We were thus enabled to go forward, but could not venture far. Having paſſed inward from the ſea to a great depth, we found on the right hand a narrow paſſage, perhaps not more than ſix feet wide, obſtructed by great ſtones, over which we climbed, and came into a ſecond cave, in breadth twenty-five feet. The air in this apartment was very warm, but not oppreſſive, nor loaded with vapours.

Our

Our light ſhowed no tokens of a feculent or corrupted atmoſphere. Here was a ſquare ſtone, called, as we are told, *Fingal's Table.*

If we had been provided with torches, we ſhould have proceeded in our ſearch, though we had already gone as far as any former adventurer, except ſome who are reported never to have returned; and, meaſuring our way back, we found it more than a hundred and ſixty yards, the eleventh part of a mile.

Our meaſures were not critically exact, having been made with a walking pole, ſuch as it is convenient to carry in theſe rocky countries, of which I gueſſed the length by ſtanding againſt it. In this there could be no great errour, nor do I much doubt but the Highlander, whom we employed, reported the number right. More nicety however is better, and no man ſhould tra-

vel unprovided with inſtruments for taking heights and diſtances.

There is yet another cauſe of errour not always eaſily ſurmounted, though more dangerous to the veracity of itinerary narratives, than imperfect menſuration. An obſerver deeply impreſſed by any remarkable ſpectacle, does not ſuppoſe, that the traces will ſoon vaniſh from his mind, and having commonly no great convenience for writing, defers the deſcription to a time of more leiſure, and better accommodation.

He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accuſtomed to require rigorous accuracy from himſelf, will ſcarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge, and diſtinctneſs of imagery; how the ſucceſſion of objects will be broken, how ſeparate parts will be confuſed, and how many particular features

and

and diſcriminations will be compreſſed and conglobated into one groſs and general idea.

To this dilatory notation, muſt be imputed the falſe relations of travellers, where there is no imaginable motive to deceive. They truſted to memory, what cannot be truſted ſafely but to the eye, and told by gueſs what a few hours before they had known with certainty. Thus it was that *Wheeler* and *Spen* deſcribed with irreconcilable contrariety things which they ſurveyed together, and which both undoubtedly deſigned to ſhow as they ſaw them.

When we had ſatisfied our curioſity in the cave, ſo far as our penury of light permitted us, we clambered again to our boats, and proceeded along the coaſt of *Mull* to a headland, called *Atun*, remarkable for the

columnar form of the rocks, which riſe in a ſeries of pilaſters, with a degree of regularity, which Sir *Allan* thinks not leſs worthy of curioſity than the ſhore of *Staffa*.

Not long after we came to another range of black rocks, which had the appearance of broken pilaſters, ſet one behind another to a great depth. This place was choſen by Sir *Allan* for our dinner. We were eaſily accommodated with ſeats, for the ſtones were of all heights, and refreſhed ourſelves and our boatmen, who could have no other reſt till we were at *Icolmkill*.

The evening was now approaching, and we were yet at a conſiderable diſtance from the end of our expedition. We could therefore ſtop no more to make remarks in the way, but ſet forward with ſome degree of

of eagerneſs. The day ſoon failed us, and the moon preſented a very ſolemn and pleaſing ſcene. The ſky was clear, ſo that the eye commanded a wide circle: the ſea was neither ſtill nor turbulent: the wind neither ſilent nor loud. We were never far from one coaſt or another, on which if the weather had become violent, we could have found ſhelter, and therefore contemplated at eaſe the region through which we glided in the tranquillity of the night, and ſaw now a rock and now an iſland grow gradually conſpicuous and gradually obſcure. I committed the fault which I have juſt been cenſuring, in neglecting, as we paſſed, to note the ſeries of this placid navigation.

We were very near an Iſland, called *Nun's Iſland*, perhaps from an ancient convent. Here is ſaid to have been dug the ſtone that was uſed in the buildings of

Icolmkill. Whether it is now inhabited we could not ſtay to inquire.

At laſt we came to *Icolmkill*, but found no convenience for landing. Our boat could not be forced very near the dry ground, and our Highlanders carried us over the water.

We were now treading that illuſtrious Iſland, which was once the luminary of the *Caledonian* regions, whence ſavage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the bleſſings of religion. To abſtract the mind from all local emotion would be impoſſible, if it were endeavoured, and would be fooliſh, if it were poſſible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our ſenſes; whatever makes the paſt, the diſtant, or the future predominate over the preſent advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends,

friends, be ſuch frigid philoſophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wiſdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whoſe patriotiſm would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whoſe piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona!*

We came too late to viſit monuments: ſome care was neceſſary for ourſelves. Whatever was in the Iſland, Sir *Allan* could command, for the inhabitants were *Macleans*; but having little they could not give us much. He went to the headman of the Iſland, whom Fame, but Fame delights in amplifying, repreſents as worth no leſs than fifty pounds. He was perhaps proud enough of his gueſts, but ill prepared for our entertainment; however, he ſoon produced more proviſion than men not luxurious require. Our lodging was next to be provided. We found a barn well

ſtocked

ſtocked with hay, and made our beds as oft as we could.

In the morning we aroſe and ſurveyed the place. The churches of the two convents are both ſtanding, though unroofed. They were built of unhewn ſtone, but ſolid and not inelegant. I brought away rude meaſures of the buildings, ſuch as I cannot much truſt myſelf, inaccurately taken, and obſcurely noted. Mr. *Pennant*'s delineations, which are doubtleſs exact, have made my unſkilful deſcription leſs neceſſary.

The epiſcopal church conſiſts of two parts ſeparated by the belfry, and built at different times. The original church had, like others, the altar at one end, and tower at the other; but as it grew too ſmall, another building of equal dimenſion was added, and the tower then was neceſſarily in the middle.

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That theſe edifices are of different ages ſeems evident. The arch of the firſt church is *Roman*, being part of a circle; that of the additional building is pointed, and therefore *Gothick* or *Saracenical*; the tower is firm, and wants only to be floored and covered.

Of the chambers or cells belonging to the monks, there are ſome walls remaining, but nothing approaching to a complete apartment.

The bottom of the church is ſo incumbered with mud and rubbiſh, that we could make no diſcoveries of curious inſcriptions, and what there are have been already publiſhed. The place is ſaid to be known where the black ſtones lie concealed, on which the old Highland chiefs, when they made contracts and alliances, uſed to take the oath, which was conſidered as more ſacred than any other obligation, and which could

could not be violated without the blackeſt infamy. In thoſe days of violence and rapine, it was of great importance to impreſs upon ſavage minds the ſanctity of an oath, by ſome particular and extraordinary circumſtances. They would not have recourſe to the black ſtones, upon ſmall or common occaſions, and when they had eſtabliſhed their faith by this tremendous ſanction, inconſtancy and treachery were no longer feared.

The chapel of the nunnery is now uſed by the inhabitants as a kind of a general cow-houſe, and the bottom is conſequently too miry for examination. Some of the ſtones which covered the later abbeſſes have inſcriptions, which might yet be read, if the chapel were cleanſed. The roof of this, as of all the other buildings, is totally deſtroyed, not only becauſe timber quickly decays when it is neglected, but becauſe in an iſland utterly deſtitute of wood,

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it was wanted for uſe, and was conſequently the firſt plunder of needy rapacity.

The chancel of the nun's chapel is covered with an arch of ſtone, to which time has done no injury; and a ſmall apartment communicating with the choir, on the north ſide, like the chapter-houſe in cathedrals, roofed with ſtone in the ſame manner, is likewiſe entire.

In one of the churches was a marble altar, which the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants has deſtroyed. Their opinion was, that a fragment of this ſtone was a defence againſt ſhipwrecks, fire, and miſcarriages. In one corner of the church the baſon for holy water is yet unbroken.

The cemetery of the nunnery was, till very lately, regarded with ſuch reverence, that only women were buried in it. Theſe reliques of veneration always produce ſome mournful

mournful pleaſure. I could have forgiven a great injury more eaſily than the violation of this imaginary ſanctity.

South of the chapel ſtand the walls of a large room, which was probably the hall, or refectory of the nunnery. This apartment is capable of repair. Of the reſt of the convent there are only fragments.

Beſides the two principal churches, there are, I think, five chapels yet ſtanding, and three more remembered. There are alſo croſſes, of which two bear the names of St. *John* and St. *Matthew*.

A large ſpace of ground about theſe conſecrated edifices is covered with graveſtones, few of which have any inſcription. He that ſurveys it, attended by an inſular antiquary, may be told where the Kings of many nations are buried, and if he loves to ſooth his imagination with the thoughts

thoughts that naturally riſe in places where the great and the powerful lie mingled with the duſt, let him liſten in ſubmiſſive ſilence; for if he aſks any queſtions, his delight is at an end.

Iona has long enjoyed, without any very credible atteſtation, the honour of being reputed the cemetery of the *Scottiſh* Kings. It is not unlikely, that, when the opinion of local ſanctity was prevalent, the Chieftains of the iſles, and perhaps ſome of the *Norwegian* or *Iriſh* princes, were repoſited in this venerable encloſure. But by whom the ſubterraneous vaults are peopled is now utterly unknown. The graves are very numerous, and ſome of them undoubtedly contain the remains of men, who did not expect to be ſo ſoon forgotten.

Not far from this awful ground, may be traced the garden of the monaſtery: the fiſhponds are yet diſcernible, and the aqueduct,

aqueduct, which ſupplied them, is ſtill in uſe.

There remains a broken building, which is called the Biſhop's houſe, I know not by what authority. It was once the reſidence of ſome man above the common rank, for it has two ſtories and a chimney. We were ſhewn a chimney at the other end, which was only a nich, without perforation, but ſo much does antiquarian credulity, or patriotick vanity prevail, that it was not much more ſafe to truſt the eye of our inſtructor than the memory.

There is in the Iſland one houſe more, and only one, that has a chimney: we entered it, and found it neither wanting repair nor inhabitants; but to the farmers, who now poſſeſs it, the chimney is of no great value; for their fire was made on the floor, in the middle of the room, and notwithſtanding the dignity of their manſion, they

they rejoiced, like their neighbours, in the comforts of ſmoak.

It is obſerved, that eccleſiaſtical colleges are always in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful places. While the world allowed the monks their choice, it is ſurely no diſhonour that they choſe well. This Iſland is remarkably fruitful. The village near the churches is ſaid to contain ſeventeen families, which at five in a family, is more than a hundred inhabitants to a mile. There are perhaps other villages; yet both corn and cattle are annually exported.

But the fruitfulneſs of *Iona* is now its whole proſperity. The inhabitants are remarkably groſs, and remarkably neglected: I know not if they are viſited by any Miniſter. The Iſland, which was once the metropolis of learning and piety, has now no ſchool for education, or temple for worſhip,

worſhip, only two inhabitants that can ſpeak *Engliſh*, and not one that can write or read.

The people are of the clan of *Maclean*; and though Sir *Allan* had not been in the place for many years, he was received with all the reverence due to their Chieftain. One of them being ſharply reprehended by him, for not ſending him ſome rum, declared after his departure, in Mr. *Boſwell*'s preſence, that he had no deſign of diſappointing him, *for*, ſaid he *I would cut my bones for him; and if he had ſent his dog for it, he ſhould have had it.*

When we were to depart, our boat was left by the ebb at a great diſtance from the water, but no ſooner did we wiſh it afloat, than the Iſlanders gathered round it, and, by the union of many hands, puſhed it down the beach; every man who could contribute

contribute his help ſeemed to think himſelf happy in the opportunity of being, for a moment, uſeful to his Chief.

We now left thoſe illuſtrious ruins, by which Mr. *Boſwell* was much affected, nor would I willingly be thought to have looked upon them without ſome emotion. Perhaps, in the revolutions of the world, *Iona* may be ſometime again the inſtructreſs of the Weſtern Regions.

It was no long voyage to *Mull*, where, under Sir *Allan*'s protection, we landed in the evening, and were entertained for the night by Mr. *Maclean*, a Miniſter that lives upon the, coaſt, whoſe elegance of converſation, and ſtrength of judgment, would make him conſpicuous in places of greater celebrity. Next day we dined with Dr. *Maclean*, another phyſician, and then travelled on to the houſe of a very powerful Laird,

Laird, *Maclean* of *Lochbuy*; for in this country every man's name is *Maclean*.

Where races are thus numerous, and thus combined, none but the Chief of a clan is addreſſed by his name. The Laird of *Dunvegan* is called *Macleod*, but other gentlemen of the ſame family are denominated by the places where they reſide, as *Raaſa*, or *Taliſker*. The diſtinction of the meaner people is made by their Chriſtian names. In conſequence of this practice, the late Laird of *Macfarlane*, an eminent genealogiſt, conſidered himſelf as diſreſpectfully treated, if the common addition was applied to him. Mr. *Macfarlane*, ſaid he, may with equal propriety be ſaid to many; but I, and I only, am *Macfarlane*.

Our afternoon journey was through a country of ſuch gloomy deſolation, that Mr. *Boſwell* thought no part of the Highlands equally terrifick, yet we came without

out any difficulty, at evening, to *Lochbuy*, where we found a true Highland Laird, rough and haughty, and tenacious of his dignity; who hearing my name, inquired whether I was of the *Johnſtons* of *Glencoe*, or of *Ardnamurchan*.

Lochbuy has, like the other inſular Chieftains, quitted the caſtle that ſheltered his anceſtors, and lives near it, in a manſion not very ſpacious or ſplendid. I have ſeen no houſes in the Iſlands much to be envied for convenience or magnificence, yet they bear teſtimony to the progreſs of arts and civility, as they ſhew that rapine and ſurpriſe are no longer dreaded, and are much more commodious than the ancient fortreſſes.

The caſtles of the *Hebrides*, many of which are ſtanding, and many ruined, were always built upon points of land, on the margin of the ſea. For the choice of this

this ſituation there muſt have been ſome general reaſon, which the change of manners has left in obſcurity. They were of no uſe in the days of piracy, as defences of the coaſt; for it was equally acceſſible in other places. Had they been ſea-marks or light-houſes, they would have been of more uſe to the invader than the natives, who could want no ſuch directions on their own waters; for a watch tower, a cottage on a hill would have been better, as it would have commanded a wider view.

If they be conſidered merely as places of retreat, the ſituation ſeems not well choſen; for the Laird of an Iſland is ſafeſt from foreign enemies in the centre: on the coaſt he might be more ſuddenly ſurpriſed than in the Inland parts; and the invaders, if their enterpriſe miſcarried, might more eaſily retreat. Some convenience, however, what ever it was, their poſition on the ſhore afforded; for uniformity of practice

tice ſeldom continues long without good reaſon.

A caſtle in the Iſlands is only a ſingle tower of three or four ſtories, of which the walls are ſometimes eight or nine feet thick, with narrow windows, and cloſe winding ſtairs of ſtone. The top riſes in a cone, or pyramid of ſtone, encompaſſed by battlements. The intermediate floors are ſometimes frames of timber, as in common houſes, and ſometimes arches of ſtone, or alternately ſtone and timber; ſo that there was very little danger from fire. In the center of every floor, from top to bottom, is the chief room, of no great extent, round which there are narrow cavities, or receſſes, formed by ſmall vaculties, or by a double wall. I know not whether there be ever more than one fire-place. They had not capacity to contain many people, or much proviſion; but their enemies could ſeldom ſtay to blockade them;

for if they failed in the firſt attack, their next care was to eſcape.

The walls were always too ſtrong to be ſhaken by ſuch deſultory hoſtilities; the windows were too narrow to be entered, and the battlements too high to be ſcaled. The only danger was at the gates, over which the wall was built with a ſquare cavity, not unlike a chimney, continued to the top. Through this hollow the defendants let fall ſtones upon thoſe who attempted to break the gate, and powered down water, perhaps ſcalding water, if the attack was made with fire. The caſtle of *Lochbuy* was ſecured by double doors, of which the outer was an iron grate.

In every caſtle is a well and a dungeon. The uſe of the well is evident. The dungeon is a deep ſubterraneous cavity, walled on the ſides, and arched on the top, into which the deſcent is through a narrow door,

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by a ladder or a rope, ſo that it ſeems impoſſible to eſcape, when the rope or ladder is drawn up. The dungeon was, I ſuppoſe, in war, a priſon for ſuch captives as were treated with ſeverity, and, in peace, for ſuch delinquents as had committed crimes within the Laird's juriſdiction; for the manſions of many Lairds were, till the late privation of their privileges, the halls of juſtice to their own tenants.

As theſe fortifications were the productions of mere neceſſity, they are built only for ſafety, with little regard to convenience, and with none to elegance or pleaſure. It was ſufficient for a Laird of the *Hebrides*, if he had a ſtrong houſe, in which he could hide his wife and children from the next clan. That they are not large nor ſplendid is no wonder. It is not eaſy to find how they were raiſed, ſuch as they are, by men who had no money, in countries where the labourers and artificers could ſcarcely be fed.

The buildings in different parts of the Iſlands ſhew their degrees of wealth and power. I believe that for all the caſtles which I have ſeen beyond the *Tweed*, the ruins yet remaining of ſome one of theſe which the *Engliſh* built in *Wales*, would ſupply materials.

Theſe caſtles afford another evidence that the fictions of romantick chivalry had for their baſis the real manners of the feudal times, when every Lord of a ſeignory lived in his hold lawleſs and unaccountable, with all the licentiouſneſs and inſolence of unconteſted ſuperiority and unprincipled power. The traveller, whoever he might be, coming to the fortified habitation of a Chieftain, would, probably, have been interrogated from the battlements, admitted with caution at the gate, introduced to a petty Monarch, fierce with habitual hoſtility, and vigilant with ignorant ſuſpicion; who, according to his general temper, or accidental

accidental humour would have ſeated a ſtranger as his gueſt at the table, or as a ſpy confined him in the dungeon.

Lochbuy means the *Yellow Lake*, which is the name given to an inlet of the ſea, upon which the caſtle of Mr. *Maclean* ſtands. The reaſon of the appellation we did not learn.

We were now to leave the *Hebrides*, where we had ſpent ſome weeks with ſufficient amuſement, and where we had amplified our thoughts with new ſcenes of nature, and new modes of life. More time would have given us a more diſtinct view, but it was neceſſary that Mr. *Boſwell* ſhould return before the courts of juſtice were opened; and it was not proper to live too long upon hoſpitality, however liberally imparted.

Of theſe Iſlands it muſt be confeſſed, that they have not many allurements, but to

the mere lover of naked nature. The inhabitants are thin, proviſions are ſcarce, and deſolation and penury give little pleaſure.

The people collectively conſidered are not few, though their numbers are ſmall in proportion to the ſpace which they occupy. *Mull* is ſaid to contain ſix thouſand, and *Sky* fifteen thouſand. Of the computation reſpecting *Mull*, I can give no account; but when I doubted the truth of the numbers attributed to *Sky*, one of the Miniſters exhibited ſuch facts as conquered my incredulity.

Of the proportion, which the product of any region bears to the people, an eſtimate is commonly made according to the pecuniary price of the neceſſaries of life; a principle of judgment which is never certain, becauſe it ſuppoſes what is far from truth, that the value of money is always the

the ſame, and ſo meaſures an unknown quantity by an uncertain ſtandard. It is competent enough when the markets of the ſame country, at different times, and thoſe times not too diſtant, are to be compared; but of very little uſe for the purpoſe of making one nation acquainted with the ſtate of another. Proviſions, though plentiful, are ſold in places of great pecuniary opulence for nominal prices, to which, however ſcarce, where gold and ſilver are yet ſcarcer, they can never be raiſed.

In the *Weſtern Iſlands* there is ſo little internal commerce, that hardly any thing has a known or ſettled rate. The price of things brought in, or carried out, is to be conſidered as that of a foreign market; and even this there is ſome difficulty in diſcovering, becauſe their denominations of quantity are different from ours; and when there is ignorance on both ſides, no appeal can be made to a common meaſure.

This, however, is not the only impediment. The *Scots*, with a vigilance of jealouſy which never goes to ſleep, always ſuſpect that an *Engliſhman* deſpiſes them for their poverty, and to convince him that they are not leſs rich than their neighbours, are ſure to tell him a price higher than the true. When *Leſley*, two hundred years ago, related ſo punctiliouſly, that a hundred hen eggs, new laid, were ſold in the Iſlands for a penny, he ſuppoſed that no inference could poſſibly follow, but that eggs were in great abundance. Poſterity has ſince grown wiſer; and having learned, that nominal and real value may differ, they now tell no ſuch ſtories, leſt the foreigner ſhould happen to collect, not that eggs are many, but that pence are few.

Money and wealth have by the uſe of commercial language been ſo long confounded, that they are commonly ſuppoſed to be the ſame; and this prejudice has

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ſpread ſo widely in *Scotland*, that I know not whether I found man or woman, whom I interrogated concerning payments of money, that could ſurmount the illiberal deſire of deceiving me, by repreſenting every thing as dearer than it is.

From *Loch buy* we rode a very few miles to the ſide of *Mull*, which faces *Scotland*, where, having taken leave of our kind protector, Sir *Allan*, we embarked in a boat, in which the ſeat provided for our accommodation was a heap of rough bruſhwood; and on the twenty-ſecond of *October* repoſed at a tolerable inn on the main land.

On the next day we began our journey ſouthwards. The weather was tempeſtuous. For half the day the ground was rough, and our horſes were ſtill ſmall. Had they required much reſtraint, we might have been reduced to difficulties; for I think we had amongſt us but one bridle.

We fed the poor animals liberally, and they performed their journey well. In the latter part of the day, we came to a firm and ſmooth road, made by the ſoldiers, on which we travelled with great ſecurity, buſied with contemplating the ſcene about us. The night came on while we had yet a great part of the way to go, though not ſo dark, but that we could diſcern the cataracts which poured down the hills, on one ſide, and fell into one general channel that ran with great violence on the other. The wind was loud, the rain was heavy, and the whiſtling of the blaſt, the fall of the ſhower, the ruſh of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent, made a nobler chorus of the rough muſick of nature than it had ever been my chance to hear before. The ſtreams, which ran croſs the way from the hills to the main current, were ſo frequent, that after a while I began to count them; and, in ten miles, reckoned fifty-five, probably miſſing ſome, and having

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let ſome paſs before they forced themſelves upon my notice. At laſt we came to *Inverary*, where we found an inn, not only commodious, but magnificent.

The difficulties of perigrination were now at an end. Mr. *Boſwell* had the honour of being known to the Duke of *Argyle*, by whom we were very kindly entertained at his ſplendid ſeat, and ſupplied with conveniences for ſurveying his ſpacious park and riſing foreſts.

After two days ſtay at *Inverary* we proceeded *Southward* over *Glencroe*, a black and dreary region, now made eaſily paſſable by a military road, which riſes from either end of the *glen* by an acclivity not dangerouſly ſteep, but ſufficiently laborious. In the middle, at the top of the hill, is a ſeat with this inſcription, *Reſt, and be Thankful.* Stones were placed to mark the diſtances, which the inhabitants have taken away,

away, reſolved, they ſaid, to *have no new miles*.

In this rainy ſeaſon the hills ſtreamed with waterfalls, which, croſſing the way, formed currents on the other ſide, that ran in contrary directions as they fell to the north or ſouth of the ſummit. Being, by the favour of the Duke, well mounted, I went up and down the hill with great convenience.

From *Gleneroe* we paſſed through a pleaſant country to the banks of *Loch Lomond*, and were received at the houſe of Sir *James Colquhoun*, who is owner of almoſt all the thirty iſlands of the Loch, which we went in a boat next morning to ſurvey. The heavineſs of the rain ſhortened our voyage, but we landed on one iſland planted with yew, and ſtocked with deer, and on another containing perhaps not more than half an acre, remarkable for the ruins

ruins of an old caſtle, on which the oſprey builds her annual neſt. Had *Loch Lomond* been in a happier climate, it would have been the boaſt of wealth and vanity to own one of the little ſpots which it incloſes, and to have employed upon it all the arts of embelliſhment. But as it is, the iſlets, which court the gazer at a diſtance, diſguſt him at his approach, when he finds, inſtead of ſoft lawns and ſhady thickets, nothing more than uncultivated ruggedneſs.

Where the Loch diſcharges itſelf into a river, called the *Leven*, we paſſed a night with Mr. *Smollet*, a relation of Doctor *Smollet*, to whoſe memory he has raiſed an obeliſk on the bank near the houſe in which he was born. The civility and reſpect which we found at every place, it is ungrateful to omit, and tedious to repeat. Here we were met by a poſt-chaiſe, that conveyed us to *Glaſgow*.

To

To deſcribe a city ſo much frequented as *Glaſgow*, is unneceſſary. The proſperity of its commerce appears by the greatneſs of many private houſes, and a general appearance of wealth. It is the only epiſcopal city whoſe cathedral was left ſtanding in the rage of Reformation. It is now divided into many ſeparate places of worſhip, which, taken all together, compoſe a great pile, that had been ſome centuries in building, but was never finiſhed; for the change of religion intercepted its progreſs, before the croſs iſle was added, which ſeems eſſential to a *Gothick* cathedral.

The college has not had a ſufficient ſhare of the increaſing magnificence of the place. The ſeſſion was begun; for it commences on the tenth of *October*, and continues to the tenth of *June*, but the ſtudents appeared not numerous, being, I ſuppoſe, not yet returned from their ſeveral homes. The diviſion of the academical year into one

ſeſſion,

ſeſſion, and one receſs, ſeems to me better accommodated to the preſent ſtate of life, than that variegation of time by terms and vacations derived from diſtant centuries, in which it was probably convenient, and ſtill continued in the *Engliſh* univerſities. So many ſolid months as the *Scotch* ſcheme of education joins together, allow and encourage a plan for each part of the year; but with us, he that has ſettled himſelf to ſtudy in the college is ſoon tempted into the country, and he that has adjuſted his life in the country, is ſummoned back to his college.

Yet when I have allowed to the univerſities of *Scotland* a more rational diſtribution of time, I have given them, ſo far as my inquiries have informed me, all that they can claim. The ſtudents, for the moſt part, go thither boys, and depart before they are men; they carry with them little fundamental knowledge, and therefore the ſuper-

ſuperſtructure cannot be lofty. The grammar ſchools are not generally well ſupplied; for the character of a ſchool-maſter being there leſs honourable than in *England*, is ſeldom accepted by men who are capable to adorn it, and where the ſchool has been deficient, the college can effect little.

Men bred in the univerſities of *Scotland* cannot be expected to be often decorated with the ſplendours of ornamental erudition, but they obtain a mediocrity of knowledge, between learning and ignorance, not inadequate to the purpoſes of common life, which is, I believe, very widely diffuſed among them, and which countenanced in general by a national combination ſo invidious, that their friends cannot defend it, and actuated in particulars by a ſpirit of enterpriſe, ſo vigorous, that their enemies are conſtrained to praiſe it, enables them to find, or to make their way to employment, riches, and diſtinction.

From

From *Glaſgow* we directed our courſe to *Auchinleck*, an eſtate devolved, through a long ſeries of anceſtors, to Mr. *Boſwell*'s father, the preſent poſſeſſor. In our way we found ſeveral places remarkable enough in themſelves, but already deſcribed by thoſe who viewed them at more leiſure, or with much more ſkill; and ſtopped two days at Mr. *Campbell*'s, a gentleman married to Mr. *Boſwell*'s ſiſter.

Auchinleck, which ſignifies a *ſtony field*, ſeems not now to have any particular claim to its denomination. It is a diſtrict generally level, and ſufficiently fertile, but like all the *Weſtern* ſide of *Scotland*, incommoded by very frequent rain. It was, with the reſt of the country, generally naked, till the preſent poſſeſſor finding, by the growth of ſome ſtately trees near his old caſtle, that the ground was favourable enough to timber, adorned it very diligently with annual plantations.

Lord

Lord *Auchinleck*, who is one of the Judges of *Scotland*, and therefore not wholly at leiſure for domeſtick buſineſs or pleaſure, has yet found time to make improvements in his patrimony. He has built a houſe of hewn ſtone, very ſtately, and durable, and has advanced the value of his lands with great tenderneſs to his tenants.

I was, however, leſs delighted with the elegance of the modern manſion, than with the ſullen dignity of the old caſtle. I clambered with Mr. *Boſwell* among the ruins, which afford ſtriking images of ancient life. It is, like other caſtles, built upon a point of rock, and was, I believe, anciently ſurrounded with a moat. There is another rock near it, to which the drawbridge, when it was let down, is ſaid to have reached. Here, in the ages of tumult and rapine, the Laird was ſurpriſed and killed by the neighbouring Chief, who

perhaps

perhaps might have extinguiſhed the family, had he not in a few days been ſeized and hanged, together with his ſons, by *Douglas* who came with his forces to the relief of *Auchinleck*.

At no great diſtance from the houſe runs a pleaſing brook, by a red rock, out of which has been hewn a very agreeable and commodious ſummer-houſe, at leſs expence, as Lord *Auchinleck* told me, than would have been required to build a room of the ſame dimenſions. The rock ſeems to have no more dampneſs than any other wall. Such opportunities of variety it is judicious not to neglect.

We now returned to *Edinburgh*, where I paſſed ſome days with men of learning, whoſe names want no advancement from my commemoration, or with women of elegance, which perhaps diſclaims a pedant's praiſe.

The

The converſation of the *Scots* grows every day leſs unpleaſing to the *Engliſh*; their peculiarities wear faſt away; their dialect is likely to become in half a century provincial and ruſtick, even to themſelves. The great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain, all cultivate the *Engliſh* phraſe, and the *Engliſh* pronunciation, and in ſplendid companies *Scotch* is not much heard, except now and then from an old Lady.

There is one ſubject of philoſophical curioſity to be found in *Edinburgh*, which no other city has to ſhew; a college of the deaf and dumb, who are taught to ſpeak, to read, to write, and to practice arithmetick, by a gentleman, whoſe name is *Braidwood*. The number which attends him is, I think, about twelve, which he brings together into a little ſchool, and inſtructs according to their ſeveral degrees of proficiency.

I do

I do not mean to mention the inſtruction of the deaf as new. Having been firſt practiſed upon the ſon of a conſtable of *Spain*, it was afterwards cultivated with much emulation in *England*, by *Wallis* and *Holder*, and was lately profeſſed by Mr. *Baker*, who once flattered me with hopes of ſeeing his method publiſhed. How far any former teachers have ſucceeded, it is not eaſy to know; the improvement of Mr. *Braidwood*'s pupils is wonderful. They not only ſpeak, write, and underſtand what is written, but if he that ſpeaks looks towards them, and modifies his organs by diſtinct and full utterance, they know ſo well what is ſpoken, that it is an expreſſion ſcarcely figurative to ſay, they hear with the eye. That any have attained to the power mentioned by *Burnet*, of feeling ſounds, by laying a hand on the ſpeaker's mouth, I know not; but I have ſeen ſo much, that I can believe more; a ſingle word, or a ſhort ſentence I think, may poſſibly be ſo diſtinguiſhed.

It

It will readily be ſuppoſed by thoſe that conſider this ſubject, that Mr. *Braidwood*'s ſcholars ſpell accurately. Orthography is vitiated among ſuch as learn firſt to ſpeak, and then to write, by imperfect notions of the relation between letters and vocal utterance; but to thoſe ſtudents every character is of equal importance; for letters are to them not ſymbols of names, but of things; when they write they do not repreſent a ſound, but delineate a form.

This ſchool I viſited, and found ſome of the ſcholars waiting for their maſter, whom they are ſaid to receive at his entrance with ſmiling countenances and ſparkling eyes, delighted with the hope of new ideas. One of the young Ladies had her ſlate before her, on which I wrote a queſtion conſiſting of three figures, to be multiplied by two figures. She looked upon it, and quivering her fingers in a manner which I thought very pretty, but of which I know not whether

ther it was art or play, multiplied the ſum regularly in two lines, obſerving the decimal place; but did not add the two lines together, probably diſdaining ſo eaſy an operation. I pointed at the place where the ſum total ſhould ſtand, and ſhe noted it with ſuch expedition as ſeemed to ſhew that ſhe had it only to write.

It was pleaſing to ſee one of the moſt deſperate of human calamities capable of ſo much help: whatever enlarges hope, will exalt courage; after having ſeen the deaf taught arithmetick, who would be afraid to cultivate the *Hebrides?*

Such are the things which this journey has given me an opportunity of ſeeing, and ſuch are the reflections which that ſight has raiſed. Having paſſed my time almoſt wholly in cities, I may have been ſurpriſed by modes of life and appearance of nature, that are familiar to men of wider

wider ſurvey and more varied converſation. Novelty and ignorance muſt always be reciprocal, and I cannot but be conſcious that my thoughts on national manners, are the thoughts of one who has ſeen but little.

FINIS.